THE MIDEAST IN FOCUS

By Norman Greenwald

This book is designed to fill the need for a general but concise introduction to the sociology, history and politics of the modern middle east. Its scope and contents are aptly indicated by the chapter titles:

I: *Meet the Middle East*

II: *Religious Communities*

III: *Turkey and Iran*

IV: *Arab Nationalism*

V: *Egypt—Journey From Antiquity*

VI: *The Arab States—Progress and Poverty*

VII: *Zionism and Israel*

VIII: *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*

IX: *Nasser and Nasserism*

X: *Portrait in Oil*

XI: *The Middle East in the Cold War*

XII: *Peoples and Prophecy*

Author Norman Greenwald, Assistant Professor of Government at Northeastern University, has spent several years studying and traveling in the middle east and is a frequent lecturer and consultant on the problems of the region. An authority on Arab-Israeli affairs and nationalist trends, he has written a number of articles on both subjects.

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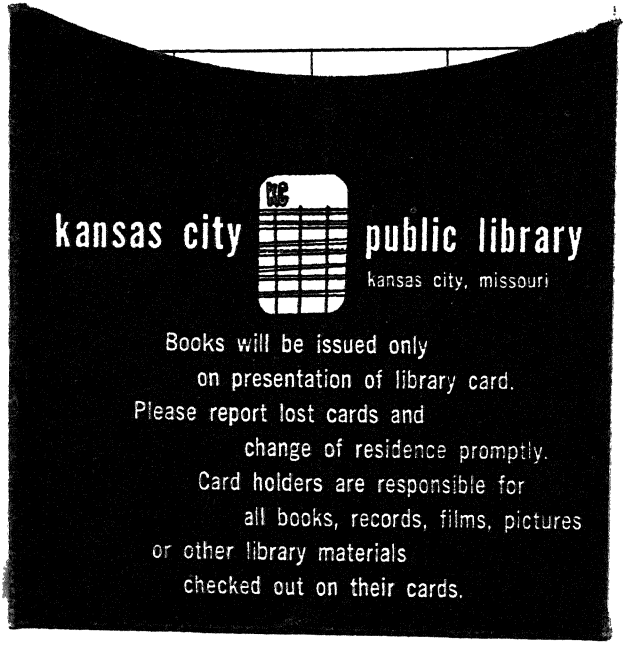
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By Norman Greenwald

Assistant Professor of Government,
Northeastern University

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PREFACE

This book is designed to fill the need for a general but concise introduction to the sociology, history and politics of the modern middle east. The middle east is arbitrarily defined herein as: Turkey, Iran, Iraq, the Arabian principalities, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Israel and Egypt.

Although Pakistan, Afghanistan, much of Soviet Central Asia, and North Africa have many cultural and linguistic affinities with the middle east, historical circumstances have more closely aligned these areas with other distinctive regions of the world. For the sake of coherence, popular usage has been followed in the transliteration of Turkish, Persian, Arabic and Hebrew words, rather than any one of a number of systematic methods.

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Chapter I

MEET THE MIDDLE EAST

Although accurate population figures do not exist, the total number of people in the middle east is above 90 million. Egypt, Iran and Turkey, have about 25 million each; Arabia, six million; Lebanon and Jordan, one-and-one-half million each; Yemen, four million and Israel, two million. Almost every nation state in the middle east is the home of many different religious sects, cultures, and language groups.

This is a region of great contrasts; of high, snow-capped mountains, and of the lowest points on earth. It is a region of lush river valleys and of hot rainless deserts; of immense wealth and of unbelievable poverty; of great culture and widespread illiteracy. While it has about half of the world's known oil reserves, most middle eastern people still use animal dung for fuel.

The middle east can be described as an undeveloped and backward region; yet members of such ancient and proud groups as the Hebrews, the Persians, the Arabs, and the Armenians have a great historical awareness and an intense, almost arrogant, pride in their own rich civilizations, and in their spiritual and cultural contributions to mankind. From the middle east came three of the great religions of the world, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, and much of Western man's knowledge of science, mathematics, agriculture, and literature originated here.

The middle east located at the junction of Asia, Africa and Europe, has been, since the dawn of history, a bridge for peoples and for civilizations moving from one part of the world to another. Today this region is an important battleground in the "cold war" between the United States and the Soviet Union. More significantly, it is also a battleground between the Western and Eastern ways of life—the West as represented by modern technology, parliamentary institutions, and the separation of church and state; the East as represented by traditional ways of life which emphasize the family or the clan, and the spiritual over the material. Everywhere in the middle east one sees signs of this struggle.

Like the new colored nations of Asia and Africa, the middle east is

part of what has been called "The Non-Western World." These nation states all share immense problems of technological backwardness, of feudalism and extreme poverty, as well as conflicting attitudes toward the policies and values of the white Western world.

There are three major language groups in the middle east today—the Semitic, the Persian or Iranian, and the Turkish. The two important modern Semitic languages are Hebrew and Arabic. Hebrew is the official language of Israel. Arabic is the language of Arabia, Jordan, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and Iraq. Much of the middle east's religious and cultural contributions to the world have originated among Semitic speaking people. For many thousands of years Semitic speaking peoples have been prominent in history. Scholars have noted that historically there have been two major forms of Semitic languages: North Semitic, spoken by people living on the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean, and South Semitic spoken by the peoples of the Arabian peninsula. The Babylonians, the Philistines, the Canaanites and the Hebrews of Biblical days spoke the North Semitic form. North Semitic speaking Phoenician traders established colonies all over the Mediterranean. Ancient Carthage was the most famous of these colonies. The language of the common people of much of the middle east at the time of Christ was Aramaic, a form of North Semitic much the same as Hebrew. Forms of Aramaic are still used as the church languages of a number of Eastern Christian churches, including the Maronite Church of Lebanon and the Coptic Church of Egypt; and is used by Jews in studying commentaries on the Bible. There are a few villages in Syria where Aramaic is still spoken in preference to Arabic. The Hebrew of modern Israel, which was revived as a spoken language in recent times, is almost identical with the Biblical Hebrew written at the time of the Prophets.

Modern Arabic, the language of the Prophet Mohammed, the founder of the Islamic religion, is a form of South Semitic. It is about as close to Hebrew as German is to English. Arabic was spread by the Arab conquerors, led by the disciples of Mohammed. Within a few hundred years in those areas where Semitic was spoken, Arabic replaced the other Semitic languages and became the everyday language of the people. In those areas where non-Semitic languages, such as Persian or Turkish were spoken, Arabic did not become the vernacular although these languages did take in many hundreds of Arabic words. Significantly, both Persian and Turkish have been written in Arabic script, but since 1928 the Latin script has been used in place of Arabic by the people of Turkey.

A given script or alphabet can, of course, be used for any number of different languages. English, for example, could just as well be written in Arabic or Hebrew or Greek script rather than Latin. It is not uncommon for the same language to be written in several different alphabets. Hebrew script is used for forms of Spanish and German, for example, and Arabic is used for a number of non-Arab languages. A people will usually adopt the script of their holy book to express their particular language. Thus people who have adopted the Islamic religion will use the script of the Koran, their holy book.

Though there is a classical form of Arabic—that of the Koran—it is used exclusively in religious services and, recently, on the radio. Unfortunately, most people in the Arab world have not had enough education to understand this classical form of Arabic. Classical Arabic is as different from the everyday Arabic as Latin is from Italian. The fact that the Arab world has two distinct forms of its language, has slowed down educational efforts. There are many different dialects of everyday Arabic. It is easy to differentiate a person from Syria, Egypt, or Iraq by his distinctive dialect of colloquial Arabic.

The second important language in the middle east is Persian which is part of a broader family of languages known as Indo-European or Aryan. Although written in Arabic script, it is a distinct language. About two-thirds of the population of modern Iran speak one of several forms of Persian. Many Persian-speaking peoples of the world, however, live in the Soviet Union. It is interesting and perhaps ominous that some of the best institutions for Persian education and culture are located, not in Iran, but in the Soviet Union. Persian is also one of the two official languages of Afghanistan.

Two other groups speak languages closely related to Persian. These are the Kurds and the Armenians. The Kurds are a mountain nomadic people. They live in a region known as Kurdistan, which includes parts of Southeastern Turkey, Northern Iran and Northern Iraq. Since the persecutions of World War I there are very few Armenians working the land in the middle east, but there are many Armenian-speaking people in the major cities. Persian is a language with a long history in the middle east. It ranks with Hebrew and Arabic as an important literary language. Some of the world's finest poetry is written in Persian.

The language family which has most recently come into the middle east is Turkish. Turkish is a central-Asiatic language brought into the middle east by various conquerors in the 11th and 12th centuries. Today Turkish is the national language of Turkey and forms of Turkish are spoken by about 25% of Iran's population. As with the Pers-

ians, many Turkish-speaking people live in the Soviet Union. Turkish is quite different from both Semitic and Persian. Among the languages of modern Europe, Turkish is related to Hungarian and Finnish.

One should be careful not to confuse language with race. In each of these three language families, one finds people with white, brown and black skin, and with a great variety of physical features.

Most of the middle east is made up of mountain and desert regions which are not well suited for farming. Only eight percent of the land surface can be used for agriculture. Much of Turkey and Iran is made up of high plateaus and mountains although there are some rich lowlands along the Mediterranean and Aegean shores of Turkey, and in the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf regions of Iran. Israel, Lebanon, and parts of Syria are also quite mountainous as are parts of the Arabian peninsula. The two main river systems of the middle east are the Nile of Egypt and the Tigris-Euphrates of Iraq.

The middle east has very hot summers and fairly cool rainy winters. During the summer months—April to October—there are almost no clouds in the sky and summer temperatures are as hot as any place on earth. During the winter there is little frost in the lowlands and the deserts, but much snow falls in the mountainous regions. There is inadequate and irregular rainfall over most of the middle east. The absence of water is the most important factor limiting farming. In many regions there will be much flooding in the winter months and no rain during the rest of the year.

Of the 90 million people who live in the middle east about 70% live in small farming villages. Another 20% live in towns or cities. (The middle east has thousands of villages and hundreds of towns, but only a few dozen cities.) About 10% of the population is made up of nomads of the mountains and desert nomads—the Bedouin.

Much of the region's society is politically feudal—a society in which peoples' first political loyalty is to their clan or tribe or religious community rather than to the nation state in which they live as it would be in the United States or Britain. An Arabic-speaking Moslem would have much more in common with a Turkish or Persian-speaking Moslem than he would with an Arabic-speaking Christian or Arabic-speaking Jew. The idea of citizenship is largely unknown except among a small Westernized group concentrated in the cities and larger towns. If one were to ask an average person in the middle east what his nationality is, he would probably answer with the name of his village, his clan, or his language group. While he might answer that he is a

Moslem, a Jew, or a Maronite Christian, he is not likely to answer that he is an Iraqi, a Jordanian, or a Lebanese.

Although Western ideas, habits and clothing have influenced middle eastern life considerably, especially in the cities, the old traditional ways still dominate the region. Most people in the middle east still follow the pursuits of their fathers. Certain trades such as blacksmith, merchant and craftman tend to be the monopolies of specific language and religious groups. There is some racial discrimination in the middle east. But there is not the rigid color-line and the caste system which is found in the traditional society of India.

Middle eastern society is strongly patriarchal; the father is invariably boss of the household. Most villagers and nomads are members of larger patriarchal clans or tribal communities. Members of these communities are usually closely related by blood or marriage. An elder or rich member will usually serve as both the religious and political leader of the entire community. Polygamy is still widely practiced. Women have few social or political rights, although there is a growing demand among women in the cities and towns for equality.

About 80% of the middle east's population can neither read nor write, but there is a great respect for learning and learned men.

The middle east is one of the most disease-ridden parts of the world. Some progress has been made in fighting disease but much remains to be done. Many of the parasitic and social diseases do not kill but rather so weaken the people that they cannot perform a good day's work. Westerners often consider middle eastern people lazy, but in reality they are usually sick and physically unable to work continuously.

Narcotics are used extensively, as in much of Asia and Africa. Opium and marijuana are major agricultural products of the region.

Agriculture, conducted according to ancient and primitive methods, is the major occupation of 70% of the region's population who live in villages. (Of the settled population, the people of the villages are the most tied down to the traditional ways of life.) Women do more than their share of work in the village—not only the family chores, but also the carrying of water and often much of the work in the fields. Except for villages in Israel, Lebanon and Turkey, there is almost no machinery of any sort in the typical middle eastern village. Men or animals supply all of the needed power. Grains such as wheat, rye, or barley, are the primary crops of most villages. Cotton is a major crop in the Nile Valley and tobacco is still important in Turkey. Animals, especially sheep and goats, provide not only milk, and, occasionally, meat, but

also dung for fuel. Members of village communities will often work together in groups. The men will go out in fields or pastures in teams. Even the women will frequently do much of their work co-operatively.

With the exception of Israel and Turkey, much of the village land is owned by a few rich absentee landowners. Often landowners will own entire villages. Much of the village population live in a state of serfdom; they are tied down to the land and are not permitted to leave. Because of antiquated laws of property and inheritance, a peasant's land will frequently be scattered in small pieces over a wide area. Even in those few villages where the peasants own their own land, it will often be difficult for them to work it efficiently. In other villages, ownership of the best land will often be rotated among the peasants from year-to-year. This land rotation, still a serious problem in the Arab world, discourages long-range development of the soil. Most peasants are heavily in debt much of the time, either to the merchants of the towns and cities, or to the landlords; and often to both.

The towns of the middle east serve as commercial, governmental, and religious centers. The nearby villages and nomadic tribes ar dependent on the town for manufactured goods and for such imported luxuries as sugar, tea and coffee. A good part of the town's working population will be made up of small merchants and artisans. Merchants will often buy the products of the villages and sell the villager the few basic things he needs. Artisans such as metalsmiths and shoemakers will also provide essential services. On market days, the bazaars will be crowded with buyers and sellers. Open-air stalls and wagons filled with farm produce will be everywhere.

The town will often contain some sort of religious shrine which will serve to attract neighboring peoples to the town. Inevitably there will be a mosque in the center of the town. On market days, villagers, and townspeople will congregate in the mosques which serve as social as well as religious centers. The town will serve frequently as a district headquarters for the national government and as the location of such regional schools and hospitals that exist.

The influence of the West is more noticeable in the towns. Townspeople will wear Western-style clothing; and they will often have electricity. Literacy is much higher in the towns. City newspapers and radios keep the townspeople more aware of the outside world, though battery radios are now being installed in many villages. Townspeople will tend to be related to one another but not as closely as in the village.

It is the cities that have been most strongly influenced by the West. They are the centers for nationalism—an idea imported from the West; in the cities are large numbers of Western-educated persons, and industries of various sorts. Accompanying the growth of industry is a small but growing labor union movement which is taking an increasingly active part in politics.

There are sections of Cairo, Damascus, Baghdad, Istanbul, and Teheran, which are indistinguishable from the modern sections of any large American or European city. The slums of most middle eastern cities, however, are indescribably primitive. The slum populations live amidst unbelieveable poverty and disease. Most cities have grown tremendously in size in recent years in part because of rural over-population and because of the industrialization started during World War I and World War II. The mobs of the cities coming from these slums are a growing force in politics. Various factions within such countries as Egypt, Syria and Iraq have manipulated the city mobs to their own advantage in recent years. There are many signs, however, that they are as much the prisoners of the mobs as they are the masters.

One of the underlying reasons why democratic government has not taken root in the middle east, except in Turkey and Israel, is that there is a small middle class. Extremes of rich and poor create a climate in which democracy cannot easily develop. In many middle eastern states, such professional men and small businessmen as there are tend to belong to minority groups. The anti-foreign and nationalist sentiments of most middle eastern governments has not permitted members of minority groups to take an active part in political affairs.

Chapter II

RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES

No region of the world has made a greater contribution to mankind's religious heritage than has the middle east. It was in the middle east that the idea of monotheism, the belief in one universal God, was born. Three of the world's great religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—developed here and have spread over much of the world.

It is difficult to know exactly why so many important religions have been born in the middle east. Perhaps it is the nearness of the wanderer on the desert to the heavens; perhaps there is something in the soil that makes men seek God, or perhaps it is because this region is the home of some of the oldest civilizations of which there is record. For whatever reasons religion has been and still is a great influence throughout the middle east. For most people in the middle east, religion is an all-embracing way of life and not merely a creed. Religion, in the traditional middle east society, determines not only what a man believes but also his every action including what he wears and eats from dawn to dusk.

In most middle eastern states, with the outstanding exception of Turkey, church and state are not separated. Religious bodies, since the time of the Romans have been given many rights of governing themselves. The Ottoman Turks who ruled the middle east from 1453 until World War I, allowed and encouraged the religious leaders of various religious communities to look after the secular as well as the spiritual needs of their community. Today in most villages the local leaders have both secular and religious duties.

For most middle eastern people, religion rather than the language they speak or the nation in which they live is the most important force which binds them to other people. Religious communities tend to have their own church languages, their own distinctive habits, customs, and professions. In regard to languages for example, we see that Hebrew is closely tied to the Jewish community and Arabic to the Islamic community; even the Eastern Christian churches tend to have their own special church languages.

The old traditional ways of life are today slowly giving way to West-

ern ideas of life, particularly modern nationalism. These ideas tend to minimize the role of religion in life. It is no coincidence that in the two most Westernized and nationalistic states in the region, Turkey and Israel, religion has a comparatively small role in everyday life. But tradition still dominates most of the middle east and religion remains a major influence. For example, in spite of major attempts to introduce modern secular schools, much of the educational effort is being carried on in religious schools according to traditional methods of teaching. In most middle eastern countries, marriage, divorce, and inheritance are controlled exclusively by a person's religious community.

The oldest of the three major religious communities in the middle east is the Jewish community. From about the time of Moses for about 1,000 years Jews were the dominant group in the ancient land of Israel. Defeat by the Romans in the first and second centuries ended the dominant position of Jews in the Holy Land and marked the beginning of what has become known as the Dispersion of the Jews. For many hundreds of years before the Dispersion, however, there had existed large Jewish communities throughout the middle east and Mediterranean region. Ancient Babylon, Egypt and Yemen had large and thriving communities. Three major cultural groups developed among the Jewish communities during this period of Dispersion. These were the Spanish or Sephardic, the German or Ashkenazic, and the Oriental community.

Spain apparently had a large Jewish and non-Jewish Semitic-speaking population even in Roman times. It is clear that by the ninth century a large and prosperous Jewish community lived in Islamic Spain. For over 500 years until 1492 Spain was a major religious and cultural center for Jews. These Spanish Jews became known as Sephardic—the Hebrew word for Spanish. The Spanish language became their everyday tongue although they continued to use Hebrew as their holy language. They wrote Spanish in the Hebrew alphabet and this has become known as Ladino.

In 1492 Ferdinand and Isabella expelled both Arabs and Jews from Spain. The Sephardic Jews settled largely in the Ottoman Turkish Empire. Some others went to Holland, one of the few centers of religious toleration in the world, and a few went to the New World. The Sephardic Jews in the middle east and in Europe and America have maintained themselves as a distinct group within the Jewish community. In Israel today about 15% of the population of two million is Sephardic; in Turkey most of the Jewish community of some 45,000 is

Sephardic and there are small Sephardic communities in Egypt, Lebanon and Syria.

The second important cultural group among middle eastern Jews is the Ashkenazic community—Ashkenazic being the Hebrew word for German. By the seventh and eighth centuries there was a large Jewish population in the Rhine Valley along the borders of what is now France and Germany. These people came to speak Yiddish, a form of German written in Hebrew characters.

During the Middle Ages the Ashkenazic Jewish community was largely driven out of the Rhine Valley and settled in Eastern Europe, in what is now Poland and the Soviet Union. Today a majority of the Jews of the world have the Ashkenazic background. In Israel the Ashkenazic community constitutes about 55% of the total population.

The third important Jewish group is the Oriental community. This community never left the middle east. After the Arab conquest most Jews of this community adopted Arabic as their everyday language. A fairly large Jewish community has existed in Iran. Since Arab-Israeli hostilities most of the Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of the middle east have settled in Israel. Over 100,000 Jews migrated from Iraq; another 125,000 from North Africa; and about 45,000 from Yemen. Today about 30% of Israel's population is made up of Oriental Jews.

The middle east is the home of a large number of ancient and historic Christian communities. Many of these Christian groups were well organized long before Christianity spread to the Western world. The Christian churches in the middle east today still reflect, to a great extent, the political and language divisions of the region at the time of the birth of Christianity. Some of the Christian churches were created as a result of great theological differences in the Christian world.

One of the largest Christian churches in the middle east today is the Greek Orthodox Church, a church greatly influenced by and connected with the Byzantine or Eastern Roman Empire. In the fourth century, the Roman Empire was divided into two major parts. In the West centered in Italy was the Latin-speaking Roman Empire. Here developed what is known as the Roman Catholic Church which uses Latin as its church language. The Eastern Roman Empire, in the heart of the Greek speaking world, adopted Christianity and developed the Greek Orthodox Church. There are a number of semi-independent groups within the Greek Orthodox Church in the middle east, each group having its own patriarch or church head. However, the patriarch of Istanbul has somewhat more prestige than the other patriarchs.

Greek is, of course, the church language of the Greek Orthodox

Church. Many of the members of this church in the middle east—decendents of older Semitic-speaking communities—speak Arabic as their everyday tongue. In Turkey today there are about 250,000 members of the Greek Orthodox Church; these people are almost entirely Greek speaking. Egypt has a Greek Orthodox community of about 100,000; most are Arabic speaking. In Syria, Lebanon and Israel there are about 150,000 members of the Greek Orthodox Church.

One of the earliest and largest Christian churches in the middle east is the Coptic or Egyptian Christian Church. The Coptic Christian Church is today largely confined to Egypt. It could properly be called the national Christian church of Egypt. It was apparently the dominant religious group in Egypt prior to the Arab conquest which brought with it the Islamic religion. The Coptic language is a form of Semitic much the same as Hebrew. It is the language of the Coptic Church although Coptic Christians in Egypt use Arabic as their everyday language. There are over one million Coptic Christians in Egypt today. Long before the Arab conquest Coptic Christian missionaries had converted Ethiopia to Christianity; today the Ethiopian national Christian church is a branch of the Coptic Church.

The Armenian community represents another national church in the middle east. The Armenian Church has its own language and its own independent church patriarchs. There are several hundred thousand members of the Armenian Church scattered in the middle east.

In Syria there is another historic independent Christian church known as the Syrian Orthodox Church. This Syrian Orthodox Church was a major religious force in Syria until the Arab conquest. The members of this church are now entirely Arabic speaking although they retain Aramaic—a form of Semitic similar to Hebrew—as their church language. There are about 150,000 adherents of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Syria and Lebanon and Israel.

Another interesting Christian community is the Nestorian Christian Church. Founded in the fifth century in Syria, it was for many hundreds of years persecuted, especially by the Byzantine Empire. Nestorian Christians went deep into Asia and had much success converting large numbers to Christianity as far East as China. Marco Polo found Nestorian Christians in China in the thirteenth century. In recent years the Nestorians have also been persecuted. There were massacres of Nestorians in Turkey during World War I and in Iraq during the 1920's and 1930's. There are today about 100,000 Nestorian Christians in the middle east scattered through Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. The Nestorian Church uses Aramaic as its church language.

One of the most interesting of the middle east Christian communities is the Maronite Church, another Christian church founded in the Aramaic or Syrian-speaking part of the middle east. It has had theological differences with other Christian sects. Most members of the Maronite community settled in the hills of the Lebanon where they could not so easily be persecuted. Today about 500,000 of Lebanon's population of 1,500,000 are Maronite Christians. As with the other middle east Christian sects, the Maronite Church has its own patriarchs and church organization. In the twelfth century, in part because of contact with the Crusades, the entire Maronite Church accepted the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, the Pope, and became what is known as a Uniate church. The Uniate churches are allowed to keep their own church language in place of Latin and much of their own church ritual. In the Maronite Church, the church language is Aramaic. Maronite priests may marry but bishops do not.

All the middle east churches have had members leave to accept the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church and form Uniate churches. The Uniate churches have their own separate patriarchs and are known in the middle east as the Greek Catholic Church, the Coptic Catholic Church, Armenian Catholic, Syrian Catholic, and Nestorian Catholic Church. Although these Uniate churches are small in numbers, they pursue a fairly active community life.

The great majority of the people in the middle east accept the religion of Islam. "Islam" is an Arabic word meaning submission or acceptance of the will of God as revealed to mankind by God through the Prophet Mohammed. A person who accepts the religion of Islam is known as a Moslem. God's revelations to Mohammed are recorded in the Holy Book of Islam, the Koran. Moslems believe that the Koran contains the actual words of God. Except for Lebanon and Israel, the great majority of the population of all the countries of the middle east are Moslems.

Islam, however, is a world wide religion. More than 300 million people throughout the world accept Islam. Much of North and Central Africa is Moslem; Albania and Yugoslavia in Europe have large Moslem populations; Pakistan and Indonesia are overwhelmingly Moslem and there are large Moslem communities in the South and Central parts of the Soviet Union.

The Prophet Mohammed, founder of the Islamic faith, was born about the year 570 in the city of Mecca in what is now Saudi Arabia. When he was about 40 years old, Mohammed began to receive re-

velations from God. These revelations were recorded in the Koran by a growing group of followers who formed the basis for the Islamic community. Mohammed's new faith was strongly influenced by the nomadic society in which He was born. The relative simplicity of the Islamic faith in many ways gives it a decided advantage over Christianity, for example, in converting less developed peoples. In Africa, Islam has been much more successful than has Christianity in winning over the African tribesmen.

Judaism and Christianity greatly influenced the Koran. Although most of the nomadic tribes around Mecca were Pagan, there were a number of Jewish and Christian Arabic speaking tribes about; Mohammed knew of them and of their religious faith. Moreover, Mohammed recognized the Biblical Jewish Prophets and Christ as true prophets of God. He incorporated into his faith parts of the Old and New Testaments. Jews and Christians were recognized as people of the Book and were to be tolerated by Moslems. Moslems do not look upon Mohammed as being divine in the sense that many Christians look upon Christ. It is offensive to Moslems to have their religion referred to as "Mohammedanism". They look upon Mohammed as the last and greatest of the Prophets; but yet as a mortal man.

As with the other religions of the middle east, Islam does not separate the religious aspect of life from the secular. To a Moslem, Islam is as much a culture, a legal and political system as it is a religion. Mohammed was both a religious and political leader. The men who inherited the leadership of the Islamic world from him assumed the title of Caliph; they also became both religious and secular leaders.

During Mohammed's lifetime, much of what is now Saudi Arabia was brought under the political domination of the growing Islamic community. Within a few years after Mohammed's death in 632 Syria and the Holy Land had been captured from the Byzantine Empire by the disciples of Mohammed. The first of the two great Arab dynasties, the Unmayyd, established itself in the ancient Semitic-speaking city of Damascus. With unbelievable energy and military skill the Unmayyd Caliphs, the religious-political heads of the Moslem community, conquered much of the then known world. They defeated but did not conquer the Byzantine Empire; they conquered the powerful Persian Empire. Within a hundred years of Mohammed's death the forces of Islam had conquered almost all of the middle east, all of North Africa, Spain, and had driven deep in France. In the ninth century the second and last of the Arab dynasties, the Abbasids, appeared, and took the leadership of the Islamic world from the

Unmayyds. They moved the capital of the Islamic world from Damascus to Baghdad. In Baghdad, the Persian, Semitic and Greek cultures blended together and Baghdad became perhaps the most cultured city in the world. The Abbasids pushed the Islamic empire into Central Asia and to the borders of India.

In central Asia large numbers of Turkish and Persian speaking peoples were converted to Islam. By the year 1000 these Turkish and Persian speaking peoples had taken the leadership of Islam away from the Arabic-speaking dynasties. The position of Caliph remained largely in Turkish hands until Ataturk, the founder of modern Turkey, abolished it after World War I. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks finally captured the remaining non-Islamic area in the Middle East, the Byzantine capital of Constantinople, and, Ottoman Turks remained masters in the middle east until World War I.

Within a hundred years after the death of Mohammed a majority of the Moslems ceased to be of Arabic descent. It should not be thought that the Moslem conquerers forcibly converted most middle east people to Islam. Actually, the early Arab conquerers were not anxious that the newly conquered peoples become Moslems. As Moslems, they would be politically and socially equal with their former masters. Most historians agree that large numbers from the Christian and Jewish communities willingly accepted Islam and did so not at once but over a period of several hundred years.

Although Islam is a world-wide religion practiced by people of many languages and races, it is a religion closely tied to Arabic speaking peoples. Islam was born in a nomadic Arab society; Mohammed was an Arab, and the language of the Holy Book of Islam is of course, Arabic. A devoted Moslem of whatever race or language must know some Arabic, as the Koran can only be felt by a person who knows Arabic well. Islam is the great contribution of the Arab peoples to the world, and understandably, they are more closely attached to Islam than are non-Arab Moslems.

Unfortunately, as in the West, middle eastern people who wish to emancipate and modernize their nations, often become anti-religious. In the middle east, where religion is much more closely interwined with secular life than in the West and is more a part of the national inheritance of different communities such as the Arabs or the Hebrews, the relationship of church and state continues to be a most difficult problem to resolve.

Chapter III

TURKEY AND IRAN

The Northern tier of the middle east consists of two proud and historic nations, Turkey and Iran. Both were once great world powers with long military traditions; both have a similar climate and mountainous terrain; and both, because of the threat of the Soviet Union to the North, have allied themselves closely with the United States. Turkey, however, in recent years, has far outstripped Iran in economic, political and social development.

Modern Turkey was established immediately after World War I, out of the ruins of the Ottoman Turkish Empire. For many centuries, the Ottoman Turks, a distinct group within the Turkish-speaking people, ruled one of the great empires of the world. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Turkish tribesmen came out of central Asia and conquered what is now Turkey from the Byzantine Empire. It was not until 1453 that the historic Byzantine capital, Constantinople, was finally captured by the Ottoman Turks.

Constantinople, now Istanbul, has been an important and strategic city since the days of the ancient Greeks. It commands the vital waterway, the Bosporus, which connects the Mediterranean with the Black Sea and which separates Europe from Asia. Today, Istanbul is Turkey's largest city. Although Ankara, Turkey's new capital is more modern, Istanbul remains her commercial and cultural center. Throughout Istanbul are reminders of past glory; ancient Greek, Byzantine and Ottoman Turkish ruins are everywhere.

Once mighty fortresses of the Ottoman rulers still line the shores of the Bosporus. At the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire ruled most of the middle east, North Africa, parts of Central Asia, and much of South-Central Europe up to the gates of Vienna. By 1900 the Ottoman Turkish empire had become a second class power. She had lost most of her territories in Europe and Asia, and her control of her remaining African and middle eastern territories was weak and ineffective. The Ottoman empire consisted of a multitude of different nationalities—including Greeks, Serbians, Armenians, Kurds and Arabs. As a result of World War I almost all of the non-Turkish

nationality groups, with the exception of the Kurds, ceased to be under Turkish rule.

Geographically, Turkey is in both Europe and Asia. It is bordered on the North by the Black Sea, on the Northeast by the Soviet Union, on the East by Iran, on the South by Iraq, Syria and the Mediterranean, and on the West by the Aegean.

Turkey is somewhat larger than Texas. Much of the interior consists of arid plateaus and deserts. These are surrounded by a ring of very high mountains which almost encircle the entire country. Biblical Mt. Ararat in the Northeast, overlooking the Soviet Union, is Turkey's highest mountain. Most of Turkey's well watered farm land is along the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts where much of the population lives.

There are 25 million people in Turkey; more than 90% are Turkish speaking. The only important minority in Turkey is the Kurds. There are more than one million Kurds. They live in Southeastern Turkey, largely in nomadic tribal groups. About 98% of Turkey is Moslem. The non-Moslem communities are Jews, Armenians and Greeks, concentrated largely in Istanbul and Izmir.

More than 70% of Turkey's population live in thousands of small agricultural villages. While the few large cities, are in great part Westernized, illiteracy and backwardness dominate the lives of most villagers. American aid in recent years has introduced mechanized equipment into many hundreds of villages, but most of them still use ancient methods of agriculture. The traditional patterns of life still prevail.

In most villages, life hasn't changed much over the years. Turkish women are not as subservient as those in the Arab countries but as in other traditional Islamic societies, the women do not enjoy political or social equality with men. The standard of living is very low in the villages. In spite of government efforts, poverty and disease are still prevalent. The attempts of the great Ataturk to secularize Turkish life, have been quite successful in the cities but in most villages the Islamic religion remains a major force.

The government of the Ottoman Turkish Empire was extremely corrupt and inefficient throughout the nineteenth century. The Ottoman rulers held both the title of Sultan and of Caliph. Sultan being the political head of the Turks, and Caliph the religious head of the entire Islamic world. Had it not been for great power rivalry, especially between Britain and Czarist Russia, the Turkish Empire would have been taken over and divided up long before World War I. Dur-

ing the nineteenth century Turkey was generally known as the sick man of Europe. The European powers had extensive commercial, religious and political concessions or "capitulations" that made Turkey little more than a protectorate.

In 1908 a group of Western-educated Army officers, and intellectuals —known as the Young Turks—staged a revolt and deposed the Sultan Abdul Hamid. They wished to strengthen and modernize the Ottoman Empire. Soon after they took control of the government, they became involved in a succession of wars. In 1914 the Turks entered World War I with Germany against their traditional enemy Czarist Russia. Turkey was defeated in the war, and the victorious Allies imposed the Treaty of Sevres on her.

This treaty would have in effect made Turkey a colony of the Allied powers. Much of Turkey was occupied by British, French and Greek troops. The country was in ruins and morale was very low.

At about this point, Mustapha Kemal, known as Ataturk, appeared on the scene and became leader of the Turks. Born in the European part of Turkey, Ataturk was an Army officer, and a member of the Young Turk movement. During World War I he earned a reputation as a skillful military officer. After the humiliating Treaty of Sevres, he led a revolt against the Allies occupying the country. By 1922 he had defeated the Greek Armies in Western Turkey and had gained control of the entire country. The Allies reluctantly signed a new peace treaty with Turkey—the Treaty of Lausanne. This Treaty recognized Turkey's full independence and gave the Turks terms which satisfied them.

Ataturk was determined to modernize and westernize Turkey. He had become a national hero and his great prestige enabled him to inaugurate major political, social and religious reforms. Under his leadership Turkey became a Republic and began to be transformed into a modern Western state.

During World War I the Armenian, Greek, and Nestorian Christian communities were severely persecuted, and in some instances massacred by the Turkish population, often with the active support of the Government. At the end of the war, there were some two million Greek-speaking Christians living as farmers in western Turkey. Under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne the one million Turkish-speaking Moslems living in Greece were to be exchanged for the two million Greek farmers in Turkey. This exchange of population caused great hardships for the Greeks, who had to leave the rich farmlands of

western Turkey for the poor rocky soil of Greece, but in the long run both Turkey and Greece have benefited. As a result of the population exchange neither country has had a serious minority problem. Turkey and Greece, traditional enemies for many years, soon became allies. However, the problem of Cyprus did disturb friendly relations considerably.

Ataturk's success in transforming Turkey must be attributed to the cadre or nucleus of dedicated and Westernized men and women who shared his wish to modernize Turkey. This cadre came from the Young Turk movement. Other middle east rulers such as Nasser of Egypt and Kassim of Iraq have wished to emulate Ataturk, but they have largely failed. Their failure has not necessarily been due to their own lack of ability, but rather to the lack of a cadre of dedicated supporters. In Turkey today the leading figures of both major political parties support the basic reforms and objectives introduced by Ataturk.

The Turks came into the middle east out of Central Asia as a warrior people. The military tradition is deeply rooted, especially among the peasants. For hundreds of years the Turkish peasants were the backbone of the Ottoman Turkish armies. Today, with United States aid, Turkey has one of the largest armies in the world.

For several hundred years, Turkey's neighbor to the north, Russia, has been the major threat to Turkish independence. Right after World War II, the Soviet Union put great pressure on Turkey—which had remained neutral during the war. In 1947 President Truman inaugurated aid to Greece and Turkey as part of a new general policy of containment—i.e., of holding the Soviet Union within its existing boundaries. Under this Truman Doctrine, the United States gave extensive economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey. Turkey joined N.A.T.O. and closely aligned herself with the United States. She became a key member of the Bagdad Pact designed to prevent Soviet expansion into the middle east.

The Turkish army is an important training ground for young men from the backward villages. Here they learn how to operate and maintain mechanical equipment. The army also serves to bring them in contact with Western ways. American army officers and technicians have done much to train Turkish troops in the use of modern weapons including jet planes and tanks. Hundreds of Turkish soldiers and civilians have been brought to the United States to learn military and technical skills.

IRAN

Iran, known until recently as Persia, also is an important ally of the United States. Although it is still a weak and undeveloped nation, its size, its large population and its strategic position are such that Washington looks upon it as a major potential power in the cold war.

There are about 25 million people in Iran. About 60% of the population live in small agricultural towns or villages; another 20% are nomads; the remaining 20% live in the ten large cities of the country. Teheran, the capital, is the largest city with a population of 1,200,000. Iran is a big country—about one-third the size of the United States. It lies between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea. On the north is the Soviet Union; on the east Afghanistan and Pakistan; and to the west Iraq and Turkey.

Like Turkey, Iran is made up of mountains, plateaus and deserts. Most of her fertile, well-watered areas are found near the shores of the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Except for these two regions, there is inadequate rainfall over most of the country. No region of the middle east has greater extremes of climate. The lowlands and deserts, especially along the Persian Gulf, have temperatures as high as 130 degrees. In the mountains and plateaus to the north sub zero weather is usual in the winter.

Iran has one of the earliest and richest civilizations in history. Long before ancient Greek and Roman cultures emerged, the Persians were the major cultural group in the middle east. Cyprus and Darius of Biblical fame were two of the early Persian kings. Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire in 330 B.C. His conquest introduced the great Hellenistic period in mid east history. Hellenistic culture was the blending of classical Greek, Semitic and Persian civilizations. During the Hellenistic period, Persian principles of government, Persian literature and religious ideas spread throughout the mid east, and indirectly, through Judaism and Christianity, to Europe.

Zoroastrianism was founded by a Persian–Zoroaster—in the sixth century before the advent of Christianity. He sought to replace paganism with a form of monotheism which emphasized the continuing struggle between good and evil. It was the national religion of Persia until the Arab conquest in the seventh century.

The Arab conquest introduced the Islamic religion. Very soon, however, the Arab conquerors were themselves conquered by the superior Persian culture. The last great Arab dynasty, the Abbasids,

which had its capital at Bagdad, came under Persian influence. Until the thirteenth century when the Mongols destroyed Bagdad, it was the great center for Persian as well as Arabic literature and art.

Waves of different peoples, especially the Turks and Mongols, swept into Iran between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. Persian speaking people remained the dominant element in the country. In the early sixteenth century, a Persian dynasty known as the Safavids appeared. The Safavids re-established order in the country and made Iran a major power. Their prime enemy was the Ottoman Turkish Empire to the West. In part, because the Sultan of the Turkish Empire was also Caliph of the Orthodox or Sunni Moslems, the Safavid Shah established the Moslem Shi'a sect as the national religion of Iran.

"Shi'a" in Arabic means split, or break-off. Shi'a Moslems believe that the prophetic powers of Mohammed pass through the descendants of Mohammed's nephew Ali. They do not accept the Orthodox commentary on the Koran, known as The Sunna. Most Moslems in the world are Sunni Moslems—that is, people who accept this Orthodox commentary or canon law—the Sunna. The Aga Khan is the spiritual leader of the Ismaeli Moslems, a branch of the Shi'a sect. Iran remains Shi'a to this day. Yemen is the only other Moslem country which is predominantly Shi'a. This religious difference, along with the linguistic difference, has tended to isolate Iran from other Moslem states.

The period of Safavid rule—the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries—is known as the Golden Age of Iran. A number of great cities, including the Safavid capital Isfahan, were built. Its most beautiful and famous building is the Blue Imperial Mosque.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, Iranian power declined rapidly. By the mid nineteenth century, Iran, like Ottoman Turkey to the West, owed its independence to British and Russian rivalries. The Russians had been pressing down into Iran for several hundred years. The British, however, very early came to regard Russian advances on Iran as a major threat to the jewel in the British crown—India. From the eighteenth century to 1925, Iran was ruled by a dynasty known as the Kajar. Their rule was weak and ineffective.

In 1907 Britain and Russia, having a common enemy, Germany, settled their differences on Iran and informally divided the country into spheres of influences. When World War I began, British and Russian forces occupied the country. After the war there was much unrest in the country. A military colonel named Reza Shah staged a coup and made himself leader of Iran. He established the present Pahlavi dynasty in 1925.

Reza Shah, a military man, tried to emulate Attaturk. He wished to introduce economic, social and even religious reforms. He failed. He lacked a cadre of dedicated and honest men. The traditional forces of religion, of land ownership and of an illiterate and poverty stricken society were too strong. He himself was much more the oriental despot. He lacked Attaturk's knowledge of Western ways, unselfishness and dedication.

During World War II Reza Shah aligned Iran with Nazi Germany. In 1941 the British and the Soviets again occupied Iran, and Reza Shah abdicated in favor of his son Mohammed, the present Shah. During the war Iran was a major supply route of United States lend-lease supplies to the Soviet Union. The United States built and improved Iranian roads and railroads for this purpose.

After the war the Soviet Government was reluctant to honor her wartime agreements to withdraw from Iran. Under great American pressure, exerted through the United Nations, the Soviets finally withdrew in 1946. They failed in an attempt to separate the Northwestern Azerbaijanian province from Iran. With the inauguration of the cold war in 1947, American economic and military aid has gone to Iran in large quantities.

In the immediate post-war years, Iran's government was corrupt and wasteful. There was a nominal Parliament, which in fact was dominated by a few very rich and selfish land-owning families. The Young Shah was not able to exert any sort of leadership until 1954.

In 1951 an anti-Western fanatical religious group known as Fadayan Islam aligned itself with the pro-Communist Tudeh party. They gave their support to an eccentric land owner and member of Parliament named Mossadegh.

The latter, after leading and encouraging violent anti-Western demonstrations, nationalized the British-owned oil concessions and refineries in Iran. Because the Western powers allowed no market for Iranian oil, the Mossadegh regime rapidly drifted towards bankruptcy.

The Shah was forced to flee the country, but in 1954 his supporters, especially in the Army, rallied and desposed Mossadegh. The Shah returned and has been a reasonably effective leader since then.

Iran has about eight percent of the world's known oil reserves. The first oil concession was granted to an Englishman named D'Arcy in 1901. Just prior to World War I, the British Government decided to convert its fleet from coal to oil. They bought control of the D'Arcy concession, which became known as the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company.

Until 1951 this company was the largest producer of oil in the mid east. It built huge refineries at Abadan, the largest in the world. At Abadan, the refined oil is directly channeled to modern transport ships through an extensive pipeline network.

The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company became the largest industry in Iran, employing 70,000 persons. In 1949 the Iranian government received almost 40 million dollars in royalty payments from this company. From 1951 to 1954, during Mossadegh's nationalization of the oil industries, Iran received almost no oil revenue. After the return of the Shah, Iran was willing to allow foreign interests to continue to develop her oil resources.

The Anglo-Iranian Company, somewhat against its will, agreed to the formation of an international cartel which is known as the Iranian Oil Participants Limited. This cartel, made up of American, French and Dutch, as well as British oil companies, controls almost all of Iranian oil production. Since 1954 Iran has re-established herself as a major oil producing nation. Today Iran's revenue from oil production is about $100,000,000 dollars a year. Oil revenues and American economic aid are Iran's major sources of foreign revenue today.

Although Iran has an abundance of natural resources, it is a poverty-stricken country. With the exception of oil, its other resources such as iron, coal and water power have not yet been developed. The social problems and conditions facing the Iranian people are not unlike those perplexing the Arabs. Most Iranians are also land-hungry, living in poverty and disease and caught between the exorbitant demands of their landlords and the high costs and interest payments imposed by city merchants.

Although both Arab and Iranian societies are feudal, Iranian nationalism is much more developed than the Arab. Islam is as an important force on the average Iranian as it is on the Arab. However, the ties of religion are not as powerful in Iran because Iranian nationalists tend to regard Islam, which is based on the Arab culture, as a foreign religion.

Iranian nationalists have been much less successful than Turkish nationalists in their attempts to break the powerful grip of Islam on their society. Because of their isolation, the Western idea of separation of church and state has only recently become a force among some Iranian leaders. It seems inevitable, though, that Iran will follow the path of Turkey in secularizing its national life.

The contrast between rich and poor in Iran can be seen throughout

the country, but is especially evident in the cities. In Teheran Iranians still get their water from open ditches along the sides of streets, although a piped water system is currently being installed. Disease is widespread and is closely related to undernourishment and to inadequate housing and living standards. The average family numbers five people, and almost every household loses at least one child at an early age. The wealthy in Iran, in the Oriental tradition, live flamboyantly and extravagantly and the seeds of class conflict will bear bitter fruit unless needed social changes are introduced.

A third of Iran's population is made up of non-Iranian peoples, mostly Turks, who constitute a serious minority problem. Nomads who live as tribal groups in the mountainous country account for a large part of the population and are actually semi-independent nations within the Iranian state.

The problem of land ownership underlies much of Iran's social and economic unrest. Before Iran can again be strong. ways must be found to better distribute land among the peasants. The "Thousand Families" of Iran have their counterparts throughout much of non-Communist Asia; where also comparatively few families own much of the fertile farm lands. One of America's great concerns is that these potentially rich, heavily populated nations such as Iran, India, or Indonesia do not fall into the Soviet camp.

The local agents and disciples of the Soviet Union continue to gain strength among misguided but yet patriotic citizens of these states. These people see no solution for the extreme economic and social cleavages besetting their homelands other than Soviet guidance. In Iran, the Shah, and other enlightened Iranian leaders understand this problem. They have made serious efforts to distribute land among the peasants—even to the extent of dividing up and distributing their own estates. Nevertheless, most of the good land remains in the hands of the landlords. With the growth of literacy, and the influence of the West, particularly the growth of nationalism, the question now seems to be not whether the land will be distributed but rather whether the distribution will be carried out under Soviet or non-Soviet guidance.

Chapter IV

ARAB NATIONALISM

Much of the present unrest in the Arab world is sparked by nationalism. The middle east is the home of a number of articulate and restless nationalist movements.

What is nationalism? We read of it, we hear of it, yet it is a difficult thing to define. Nationalism is an emotional type of loyalty or affection for one's nation, which is actively expressed. Although nationalist leaders tend to be secular-minded, nationalism, with its glorification and reverence of the nation, has many of the characteristics of a religion.

Each nationalist movement has its own distinctive foundations. Some nationalist movements are based predominantly on a common religion, others on a common language, a common history, or a combination of these elements. Nationalism tends to be hostile to traditional forces in society. It seems to have accompanied the growth of secularism, urbanization and industrialization.

Nationalism, which developed in Western Europe, has become a major world force in the last 150 years. People who become nationalist-minded, substitute the nation as a focus of their loyalty, rather than their village, their clan or tribe, or their family. People moving to the city, frequently break the traditional family or clan ties, and nationalism serves to replace these loyalties.

Nationalism has been embraced by a growing number of people in undeveloped countries. They wish to imitate and rival the more developed nations in influence and power, by unifying and industrializing their homelands. Right or wrong, they feel that the traditional loyalties to village, clan, or religion hold their nation back.

Nationalism does not have to be, but often is, anti-foreign. Extreme nationalists glorify their own nation, and feel superior to other national groups. "My country, in her intercourse with foreign nations, may she always be in the right, but, my country, right or wrong."

World War I was certainly caused in part by excessive nationalist spirit. The Nazi Germans are the best recent example of nationalism gone wild. Nationalism, like fire or water, is neither good nor bad,

but nonetheless it will remain a major force in the lives of all of us. Every industrialized nation is nationalistic; even the Soviet Union, which professes to be internationalist uses nationalistic appeals to unify and mobilize its population. This was especially true in World War II.

Arabs are people who speak the Arabic language. Most Arabs are Moslems, but large numbers of Christians and Jews are also Arabic speaking. Arabs are the predominant group in all the countries of the middle east except Turkey, Iran and Israel. Also, all of North Africa is predominantly Arab. There are approximately 40 million Arabic speaking people in the middle east, another 20 million in North Africa.

Arab nationalists, like other nationalists, glorify their own past. Few groups have a more illustrious history than have the Arabs. Certainly the Arabs appear on the world scene as the creators and propagators of the religion of Mohammed—Islam. These vigorous yet primitive Semitic Arab tribesmen came out of the desert in the seventh century and quickly conquered the nearby ancient Persian, Greek, and older Semitic peoples with their rich and ancient civilizations.

Like Christianity, their religion, Islam, seeks to be universal—a religion suitable for all men under all conditions. All who accept Islam are supposed to be equal. Since conquered peoples largely embraced Islam, there followed, under Arab leadership, a widespread intermingling of the different middle east cultures.

The first few hundred years of Arab rule was a period of remarkable literary, scientific and artistic creativity. A well educated person of this time would often know two or more of the classical languages of the region—languages such as Persian, Hebrew or Greek—as well as Arabic. This enabled scholars to be familiar with the accomplishments of several different civilizations. There was a great interest in Greek and Persian scientific writings, especially in the fields of medicine, mathematics, geography and astronomy. Great academies and schools sprung up throughout the Arab world. In addition, there was also much study of the ancient Greek, Hebrew and Persian literature and philosophy. The Arab world was a great center of knowledge and enlightenment. From relatively primitive and backward Europe, students flocked to learn not only of the ancient Greek and Hebrew cultures, but also to receive the best available training in the sciences, especially medicine, and in the liberal arts.

This period of Arab rule, the seventh to eleventh centuries was a time of great literary achievement. The Arabs, like the Persians, love

poetry. They have a deeply rooted poetic tradition, which goes back to early tribal origins. There were two great but short-lived Arab dynasties during this era. The Unmayyds, who made their capital in Damascus, and the better known Abassids, who built the city of Baghdad. The golden age of Arab civilization was centered in Baghdad during this Abassid dynasty. The regime of the celebrated Abassid Caliph, Harun Al Rashid, the hero of the Arabian Nights, was the highpoint of a well nigh Golden Age.

By the eleventh century the leadership of the Islamic world fell into Turkish hands. The middle east came to be ruled by a succession of Turkish dynasties. The last of these were the Ottoman Turks, who ruled the region for about 500 years, until 1920. Under Turkish rule, the Arabs became simply another of the subjugated peoples in the middle east. The Arabs along with the entire region, entered into a long period of economic, political and cultural stagnation. The advances and cultural accomplishments of their great Golden Age were largely forgotten. Population declined as most Arabs became concentrated in small, poverty-stricken villages.

Because of the political instability the irrigation systems of the past fell into neglect. The Nomadic tribesmen, especially the Bedouins, continually pilfered and harrassed the villagers. The life of the Arab was characterized by poverty, disease and illiteracy. Traditional forces, especially Islam, tied them to the past. Meanwhile, the Western world was moving ahead in technical and political strength.

It was contact with the Western world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which sparked Arab nationalism. Among the Arabic speaking people, the Christians and Jews were the ones who had the most contact with the Western world. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were among the first leaders of Arab nationalism. As early as the seventeenth century, the Western powers and Western religious groups took a special interest in the non-Moslem peoples in the Ottoman Turkish Empire.

Through contact with Europeans and through Western orientated schools and missions, large numbers of these non-Moslems Arabs and some Moslem Arabs, became Westernized. A majority of these Westernized Arabic-speaking people became what is known as Levantine. A Levantine can be defined as a person who has broken traditional ties and yet has not substituted in their place a strong nationalistic feeling—either towards the nation in which he resides or towards his own group. He is a rootless person, politically. He has firm ties to neither community nor nation. While Levantines have dominated

the educated professions in the Arab world, their political attitude has been characterized by cynicism and apathy.

A smaller number of people became Arab nationalists concentrated in the two main centers of Arab population—Syria, including Lebanon, and Egypt. Damascus became the main center of Arab nationalism. Small nationalist groups sprang up in Egypt and Syria prior to the turn of the century. Many Arab nationalists supported the Young Turk movement, which sought to revitalize the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The Young Turks, however, became Turkish nationalists and soon developed hostility toward other national groups including the Arabs.

World War I is the great turning point in Arab national development. When the Ottoman Turkish Empire went to war on Germany's side, the British sought allies among the non-Turkish people in this Empire. They approached the semi-independent Sherif of Mecca, Hussein, the religious-political ruler of much of the Arabian peninsula. Hussein and his sons, supported by the British, led a small revolt against the Turks. Arab nationalists, especially in Damascus, supported this revolt.

The British, fighting a life and death struggle, were apparently deliberately ambiguous in making promises to Arab and Jewish nationalists during the war. In 1916 they concluded a secret agreement—the Sykes-Picot Agreement—with France and Czarist Russia. Its terms would have divided the Arab middle east into French and British spheres of influence.

After the war, in spite of Arab protests and resistance, Syria was occupied by the French and made into a French mandate. Iraq was made a British mandate, and a son of Hussein, Faisal, was made its king. Jordan and Arabia were allowed nominal independence as British protectorates. Egypt, which had been occupied by the British in 1882 to protect foreign investments, had been proclaimed a British colony on the outbreak of the war. At the end of the war Palestine was made into a British mandate, the British having pledged themselves to work for the establishment of a Jewish national home there.

Because of close contact with Westerners, Arab nationalist sentiment grew. As the ruling powers over the Arabs were now European and Christian, Arab nationalism, understandably, became strongly anti-British and French, and also placed greater emphasis on the Islamic heritage of the Arab people. In 1933 Iraq was granted independence by the British.

During World War II, the middle east became a major British base.

The war brought many social, political and economic changes which encouraged the growth of Arab nationalism. The end of the war saw all of the Arab states, except Jordan, secure political independence. In 1948, on the eve of the Arab-Israeli war, Jordan was in effect granted independence by the British. Ten years later Egypt and Syria, under Nasser's leadership, formed the United Arab Republic. The primitive and isolated country of Yemen located in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula, also federated itself with the United Arab Republic.

Egypt the dominant state in the United Arab Republic is the most heavily populated, oldest and richest of the Arab states. Under the Turks, while the rest of the Arab middle east was thinly populated and poverty stricken, Egypt, because of the Nile River, remained fairly prosperous. Most of the important religious academies of the Islamic world came to be located in Egypt. The fact that Egypt is the center of Islam has greatly aided Egypt's leaders in becoming the dominant force in Arab nationalism.

It is both interesting and significant that until recently Egyptian nationalists did not identify themselves with the Arab nation but, rather, thought of themselves as purely Egyptian nationalists. They tended to look down on Arab nationalism. They regarded themselves as heirs of the ancient Pharoahs. Today Egypt's leadership of Islam is a source of prestige and political power for Egypt's nationalist leaders, not only among the other Arabic-speaking states but throughout the Islamic world.

Although most Moslems of the world are not Arabs, the religion of Islam cannot be separated from the Arab people. The Arabic language and civilization are the heart and soul of Islam. Yet, as a universal religion, Islam does not favor any one racial or language group over any other. It is hostile to the idea of separating people by nationality. Islam is a traditionalist religion; it is a total way of life; it demands loyalties which are superior to any secular or national tie. Arab nationalism thus stands opposed, somewhat, both to the traditionalist and universalist elements of the Islamic religion.

Today, the Arab peoples of the middle east have attained national independence. Nevertheless, there does not yet exist, in any of the middle eastern Arab states, an adequate, well-organized, patriotic cadre, to transform these nations into unified national states, as Ataturk and his followers did in Turkey, or as the Zionists have done in Israel.

Society in the Arab states is still predominantly feudal. Among the

Western educated people, many are Levantine in attitude; others are members of land-owning families and have a vested interest in maintaining the existing feudal order. North Africa, especially Algeria, is quite distinct from the Arab middle east. Algeria, Tunisia and Morrocco have tens of thousands of Arabs, who are fully Westernized. They provide a reasonably effective nationalist cadre for these countries. As compared to the middle eastern Arab governments, the governments of these three North African Arab states have followed moderate and far-sighted policies. This is due to the existence of effective and unselfish nationalist movements.

Arab nationalism in the middle east, unlike that of North Africa, is immature and fanatically anti-foreign. Because the mid-eastern Arab nationalists regard the Western Christian powers as their major enemies, Arab nationalism has strong anti-Christian overtones. Arab nationalists have often aligned themselves with traditionalist Islamic leaders to mobilize devout Moslems against the West. Although there are many Christians who are Arab nationalists, it seems likely, in the short run at least, that non-Moslems will not feel comfortable in the middle eastern Arab nationalist movement.

Chapter V

EGYPT — JOURNEY FROM ANTIQUITY

Of all the countries in the world, Egypt has perhaps the oldest continuous history. Organized government and civilization as we know it today first developed in Egypt. About 6000 years ago a succession of thirty dynasties of Pharoahs, or kings, came to rule Egypt. For a period of about 2000 years, Egypt was a great center of civilization, science and art. Social life was highly cultivated and there was great emphasis placed on gracious living—at least for the noble classes. Then, as now, Egyptian life was centered on the Nile River. It was the source of the country's rich agricultural production. Moreover, the Nile was the route of commerce as well as a place for sports such as hunting, fishing and boating.

The Egyptians were very advanced in many handicrafts and productive skills. By observing the regular annual floods of the Nile river, they were able to make remarkable achievements in the study of astronomy and mathematics. Their knowledge was practical as well as theoretical. They learned how to regulate and control the flow of the Nile by building dams and canals. This led to wonderful accomplishments in engineering and the formulation of a solar calendar more or less like the calendar we use today. They made some of the earliest and greatest contributions to medicine, especially in surgery and embalming. Their great feats of construction, the Pyramids, are monuments to their knowledge of architectural engineering. With good reason Egyptian painting and sculpture are today prized by the great museums of the world.

Chapter One of the Book of Exodus says: "Now there arose up a new King over Egypt who knew not Joseph." Historians believe this refers to Hyksos tribesmen coming out of Asia who conquered Egypt. The famous period of ancient Egyptian history, under the Pharoahs, ended about a thousand years before Christ. From about the time of Moses to modern times, Egypt was ruled almost continuously by foreigners. Foreign mercenary armies frequently fought for her and over her while the native Egyptians remained passive spectators to the conquering nations who, one after another, exploited and dominated

them. If one would understand the basis of the present day violent anti-foreignism in Egypt and the Egyptians' sensitivity about their military ability, one should remember this 3,000 year period of subjugation.

After the time of Moses, Egypt entered into a period of general decline. In the sixth century before Christ, Egypt was conquered and ruled by the Persian Empire until Alexander the Great added Egypt to his domain. He introduced 300 years of Greek rule. Cleopatra was the last of the Greek rulers. Then came the Romans, followed in the fourth century by Byzantine rule, which lasted until the Arab-Islamic conquest in the seventh century.

By the time of Alexander, Egypt had become a Semitic speaking country and during the Roman rule, the Coptic Church, the national Christian church of Egypt developed. By the tenth century, various Turkish speaking groups ruled Egypt. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Egypt was taken over by the Marmelukes, a caste of professional soldiers of Turkish, Mongol, and Circassian origin.

It was Marmeluke Sultans in the late thirteenth century who drove the Crusaders out of the middle east. In the early sixteenth century the Marmelukes were subjugated by the Ottoman Turks, but were allowed to continue as local governors or pashas. In 1798 Napoleon conquered Egypt. The Ottoman Sultan sent a professional Albanian soldier, Mohammed Ali, to fight the French. With British aid, the French were driven out of Egypt.

Mohammed Ali remained with his professional army and made himself ruler of Egypt. He even threatened to conquer the entire Ottoman Empire. Although the great powers prevented this, he was granted heriditary rule over Egypt. His accession to power marks the beginning of the modern period of Egypt's history. In attempting to Westernize Egypt, Mohammed Ali introduced extensive reforms in economic, agricultural, and military affairs. He also inaugurated large scale planting of fine Egyptian cotton. This allowed the landlords to more systematically exploit peasants who previously had at least been able to eat. When cotton, instead of food, became the major crop, the peasants were entirely at the mercy of the wealthy pashas.

Mohammed Ali was neither wasteful nor corrupt and was not dominated by the great powers. His successors, however, ending with Farouk in 1952, were largely extravagant and incompetent. They became heavily indebted to bankers in Europe and to Europeans living in Egypt.

In 1854 Said, the great grandson of Mohammed Ali, granted concession for the Suez Canal to French interests. However, the extravagance of Said and his son, Ismail, caused Egypt to lose her interest in the canal, and, shortly thereafter, to lose the independence of their country as well. The British, in 1882, occupied the country to protect foreign investments.

British rule, which lasted in effect until 1945, was beneficial to Egypt in many ways. Reasonably efficient and honest government was introduced and a competent native civil service trained. The British continued and expanded the work that Mohammed Ali had begun toward getting maximum usage of the waters of the Nile. They improved the dams, reservoirs, and particularly the canals of the Nile. These improvements greatly increased the amount of land that could be farmed, and enriched the soil considerably.

The British, to their credit, allowed freedom of speech and of the press. Political parties and nationalist sentiment were permitted to develop freely. After World War I Egypt's great nationalist leader, Zaghlul Pasha, appeared. He formed the Wafd, a powerful anti-British nationalist party which sought national independence. Unfortunately Zaghlul died in 1927 and the Wafd became the extremely corrupt tool of rich Egyptian landlords. During the inter-war years, nationalist sentiment grew, but was handicapped by the selfishness of the King and the Wafd.

During World War II many businessmen and landowners made great fortunes, but the mass of the population was impoverished even more by rapidly rising prices. The inefficiency and corruption of the government was brought forcibly to light in the Arab-Israeli war. Nationalist sentiment in Egypt turned strongly against Farouk and his ministers.

Finally, in 1952, a group of Egyptian Army officers, led by General Naguib and Lieutenant Colonel Nasser, staged a coup and deposed Farouk. Under Naguib, a group of thirteen Army officers known as the Revolutionary Command Council, was set up to govern Egypt. This Council announced an impressive program of social, economic and political reforms, including the abolition of the monarchy. In February 1954 Nasser took over Egypt's leadership and Naguib was soon put under household arrest.

Egypt is about the same size as Texas. However, only 4% of this land, or an area about the size of Massachusetts, is inhabited. Most of the population lives within a few miles of the Nile River; the rest

of the country is barren desert. Except for the area around the Mediterranean, Egypt receives practically no rainfall.

Egypt consists essentially of a narrow valley, from two to ten miles wide, cut into two main geographic sections—Upper Egypt, which is the area along the Nile south of Cairo extending to the Sudanese border; and Lower Egypt, by far the most heavily populated—the area north of Cairo, including the Delta country. The Delta consists of the various tributaries of the Nile which flow into the Mediterranean.

Egypt's two main cities are Cairo and Alexandria. Cairo, the capital, has almost three million inhabitants. Alexandria, built by Alexander the Great, has a population of more than a million. In all about 25 million people live in Egypt. Approximately 80% live in thousands of small, impoverished agricultural villages, located along the Nile. Approximately 90% of Egypt's population are Sunni Moslems and about 6% are Christians; over a million of the latter are Copts.

Herodotus, the Father of History, 2500 years ago, wrote that Egypt is the gift of the river. Every August the Nile River overflows its banks. This annual flood irrigates and fertilizes almost all the farmlands. During the time of Mohammed Ali and British occupation in the nineteenth century year-round farming was made possible for the first time by improved conservation of the Nile waters. Today this permits a number of crops to be harvested each year. Cotton is now the major crop, producing half of Egypt's agricultural income.

The waters of the Nile are used to almost maximum efficiency today. The annual flood of the river is caused by heavy rains in British Central Africa and Ethiopia, where the Nile originates. Egyptian leaders are understandably concerned about who controls the sources and the route of the Nile. On several occasions, British leaders, in anger, have intimated they might, in effect, shut off the Nile. If this were done, all Egypt would become desert.

Outside of the Nile Valley, the Suez Canal region is the only other populated area of Egypt. The Suez Canal separates Egypt proper from the Sinai desert and connects the Mediterranean Ocean with the Red Sea.

Lying entirely within Egyptian territory, the canal has made Egypt a country of major international significance. A connecting link between southern Asia and Europe, it eliminates the need for a ocean voyage around Africa. There are two cities on either end of the Canal —Port Said on the Mediterranean and Suez on the southern end. Compared to Cairo and Alexandria, they are quite small.

Cairo and Alexandria are the cultural and commercial centers of the

country. Nowhere in the middle east is the contrast between the twentieth century and the old, traditional ways of life more noticeable than in these two cities. There ultra modern apartments and office buildings are as up to date as any found in London or New York. Business and commercial districts are scenes of bustling activity.

Much of the foreign population is concentrated in these cities. In spite of the government's recent anti-foreign policies, Cairo, and especially Alexandria, have retained their international atmosphere. Most of the city populations though still shop and trade in colorful markets and bazaars which haven't changed much over the centuries. Here one may purchase handicraft goods made by methods passed down from father to son through the ages. Western goods are rapidly replacing the traditional handicraft items, but certain things such as jewelry, rugs, and woven goods are still in demand.

The great majority of Egyptians never see the cities and are little influenced by Western ways. In spite of the recent land and social reforms announced by the Nasser government, inhabitants of the Egyptian villages are little more than serfs—tied to traditional ways and bound to the land.

Although the land of the Nile Valley is extremely fertile, the peasants are unbelievably poor. Primitive methods of agriculture are responsible for some of the poverty, but the main problem is overpopulation. The population of the country has been sky rocketing since the turn of the century. There were only nine million people in Egypt in 1900; today there are 25 million, most of whom are dependent on farming.

Though the population has almost tripled, the land used for farming has hardly increased at all. Farmland has grown more and more valuable, yet the income of the peasants decreases yearly. Because of elementary sanitation and health practices, introduced largely by the British, infant mortality rates have gone down and Egypt's population is now increasing at a rate of about half a million persons annually.

Disease is widespread throughout the entire middle east, but of all the people of the region, Egyptian peasants have the highest mortality rate. The Nile Valley has frequently been compared to a gigantic hospital because the majority of the population are chronically ill from parasitic and social diseases, and diseases of the eye. The perennial irrigation and inadquate drainage is the cause of Egypt's most serious disease—Bilharzia. 60% of the village population are weakened and debilitated by this parasitic disease.

The peasants spend much time working in the canals and flooded fields, where they contract this disease, carried by snails that breed in the water. While Egyptian public health authorities have made some success in eliminating malaria and eye diseases, no significant progress has been made in conquering Bilharzia.

Disease is by no means confined to the rural population. The overcrowded, poverty-stricken city populations are in great part afflicted by pellagra and tuberculosis, diseases associated with malnutrition and unsanitary conditions.

Illiteracy is another of Egypt's major social problems. In 1937, 82% of the Egyptian population were illiterate. In 1947, illiteracy had declined to 77%. After gaining their independence, the Egyptians started a program of educational expansion, and attempted the almost impossible task of educating an entire nation in one generation. They are far from having reached their goal. Even today, less than half of the children attend school. New schools are being built but not rapidly enough to provide for the ever-increasing population.

Egypt's educational program has been retarded by many factors: (1) hot weather and disease, which reduce the student's ability to study; (2) frequent changes of educational policy; (3) a pronounced shortage of good teachers; (4) unusually heavy insistence on language studies; and (5) the rigid centralization of the educational system.

With more than half the middle east's Arab population, Egypt naturally assumes a leading position among the Arab nations. Not only is Egypt the main center for Islamic and classical Arabic studies, it is the home of a large motion picture industry. Most films for Arabic speaking audiences are produced in Egypt. Radio Cairo, which broadcasts in many different languages and dialects, is a major political influence in the entire middle east and much of North Africa. The British, during the Suez War, acknowledged Radio Cairo's political power, when they made a special bombing raid to destroy it.

Egypt has the best railroad system in the middle east, it is a major banking and financial center, and is by far the most industrialized of the Arab states. Industry in Egypt was in great part encouraged by the shortages of manufactured goods caused by World War I and World War II. Textile manufacturing is Egypt's best developed industry.

There is also a large processing and canning industry. Chemical and fertilizer production had been increasing greatly in the past few years. Egypt has been working to increase oil production, but as yet, not enough oil is produced to meet the country's needs. As far as one

can tell, Egypt does not have major oil reserves, as do some other Arab states. There are great iron ore fields in Egypt, but these have not yet been developed. Industrial development in Egypt has been retarded by a great lack of long-term capital investments. Because of centuries of economic instability, local businessmen and investors have been hesitant to have their money tied up for many years. They have preferred to invest in short term investments, which have contributed little to the nation's economic growth. Instead, they speculate in agricultural land and in luxury apartment houses.

Although there are many millionaires in Egypt, they are wasteful and extravagant. The wealthy in Egypt, as in most of Asia, have a tradition of sumptuous living that in our society would be considered irresponsible and in extremely poor taste. Even today, Egypt's upper class tries to imitate the frivolous ways of former King Farouk. Thus, money that should be used for badly needed, basic industries is spent for expensive automobiles, yachts, and large villas and estates, both in Egypt and in the pleasure resorts of Europe.

Egypt, under its present political regime, moreover, does not offer a friendly climate for foreign private capital. Egyptian nationalists are perhaps over sensitive about being dominated by foreign financial interests. Although Egypt's major industries are not owned by the state, nevertheless, the government controls and direct industry and the economy to a great extent. As the Egyptian civil service is neither honest nor competent, there is much waste and inefficiency in the direction and regulation of business and industry.

In Egypt, more so than in any other middle eastern country, the engineers and skilled technicians are largely concentrated in the foreign communities. Members of these communities have been subjected to growing discrimination by Egypt's nationalist leaders and are finding it more and more difficult to hold jobs in their professions. Industrialization seems to be the best answer to Egypt's two-fold problem of poverty and rapidly growing population. Egypt's leaders understand this and sincerely wish to industrialize as rapidly as possible. Whether they will have the determination and the ability to act accordingly only the future will tell.

Chapter VI

THE ARAB STATES — PROGRESS AND POVERTY

The Arab States are Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Yemen. Except for Lebanon and Yemen, much of the land surface in these countries is desert. The fertile crescent of antiquity, which consists essentially of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys in Iraq and Syria and the coastal plains of Lebanon is the prime agricultural region of The Arab States. This was the area of population in Biblical days. The great Assyrian and Bablyonian Empires were centered in the Tigris-Euphrates valleys, in what is now Iraq. The legendary Garden of Eden is believed to have been located here. The Israelites and the Philistines lived along the coastal plains on the Western end of this fertile crescent.

Lebanon

Lebanon is the most Westernized of the Arab states and has the highest standard of living. Lebanon, the smallest Arab state, has an area about half the size of Massachusetts. There are about a million and a half persons living in Lebanon. Roughly half the population are Christians, and half are Moslems and Druses. There are about 450,000 Maronite Christians, 130,000 Greek Orthodox Christians; 100,000 Armenian Christians; and about 80,000 Greek Catholics. The Moslem community is divided into 290,000 Sunni Moslems and 260,000 Shi'a Moslems. There are also 95,000 Druses who have a monotheistic religion which at one time was part of Islam but is now completely independent.

In Lebanon there is an equal split between the Christian and Moslem communities. Because of this there is an understanding among the Lebanese that governmental power will be shared by the different religious groups. Since 1946, when Lebanon became an independent republic, the President has been chosen from the Maronite Christian community, and the Prime Minister from the Sunni Moslem community. The President of the parliament has been chosen from the Shi'a Moslem sect. In spite of Lebanon's parliamentary form, political power is centered around leaders of the religious communities.

There are many reasons for Lebanon's ties with the Western world.

The Christian community, especially the Maronite Christians, have had close ties with the West for many hundreds of years. An extensive network of Western elementary and secondary schools, operated by church groups, has existed in Lebanon for many years. The American University in Beirut sponsored by American Protestants, is probably the outstanding university in the Arab world. Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese have immigrated to North and South America and have maintained cultural and economic ties with their families in Lebanon.

Lebanon is an important commercial and banking center. In many ways, the Lebanese carry on the traditions of the ancient Phoenicians, who 2500 years ago were the great traders of the Mediterranean and lived in the area now known as Lebanon.

Lebanon has a delightful climate. In many ways it is the Switzerland of the middle east. The high mountains of the interior offer year-round winter sports and the Mediterranean coast is much like the Riviera. Remittances from abroad and tourism are Lebanon's major sources of revenue. Also, like Switzerland, Lebanon is one of the few duty-free ports remaining in Europe or the middle east.

One-third of Lebanon's population lives in Beirut, the most modern city in the Arab world and the commercial and financial center of the middle east. Wealthy sheiks and landowners from all parts of the Arab world invest and bank their money in Beirut. They also vacation in Beirut. In terms of night life and French cultural and social influence, Beirut can be called the Paris of the middle east.

Most of Lebanon's population live in agricultural villages on the slopes of the hills and mountains, and in the valleys. While Lebanon has enough water for its agricultural needs, irrigation systems are only recently being developed. Although the nation's farmers have the highest standard of living of any farmers in the Arab world, their crop yields are still quite low because of primitive farming methods, limited use of fertilizers and difficulties in obtaining credit. However, the government has done much work to encourage intensive irrigation, especially in the valleys, and to promote the planting of the more profitable citrus fruits, and vegetables for which the climate is well suited. Due to overpopulation, there has been a continuous migration of Lebanese farmers to Beirut and to the Western world over the past hundred years.

Since Biblical days, Lebanon has traditionally been part of Syria. The same dialect of Arabic is spoken in both countries. However, Lebanon's Christian population, anxious to retain religious freedom,

are fearful of the possibility of being absorbed by nationalist Moslem Syria. Although Lebanon has given nominal support to the idea of Arab nationalism, she alone of the Arab states has maintained close political ties with the United States and her allies.

Syria

If Lebanon is the friendliest Arab state in her relations with the West, then Syria, Lebanon's sister country to the East, is the most hostile. It is a main center of Arab nationalism and Soviet influence and penetration. Syria is about the size of France; much of her territory consists of desert. Only a third of the land can be cultivated.

Syria has a population of about four million people, of whom almost three million are Sunni Moslem. The Druses and another heretical Moslem sect known as the Alawis constitute another 500,000 people. There are about a half million Christians, adhering to different church groups.

After World War II, Syria achieved independence from France and became a nominal parliamentary republic. However, rich landlords, clan leaders and, more recently, Army officers have been the actual rulers. The period from 1945 to 1958 was one of great political and economic instability. During the time Syria was governed by military dictators. In February, 1958, Syria joined Egypt in forming the United Arab Republic, in which Egypt, under Nasser, has been the senior partner. Although the Syrian parliament and army have remained intact, Egyptian political and military leaders have assumed commanding positions.

Sixty per cent of Syria's population are farmers in small villages, and five per cent are nomadic. Grains are the principal crops, but cotton, tobacco, fruit and vegetables are grown in sizeable quantities. Irrigation has been greatly expanded in recent years, as well as the total number of acres under cultivation.

As in most of the middle east, absentee landlords own virtually all of the cultivated land. Most of the farm population are poverty-stricken share croppers, but Syria does not have the great surplus of farm labor that Egypt has. There are, in fact, sizeable areas in Syria which are suitable for farming, but because of political instability, and a lack of capital, are not now being cultivated.

Almost a third of Syria's population live in the six major cities. Of these, Damascus is the political and cultural center of the country and Alleppo is the commercial center.

Since the end of French control in 1946, and particularly since the

1956 Suez war, there has been a great surge of industrial expansion in Syria. A growing textile industry, now employing some 60,000 people, supplies the Syrian market and other neighboring countries. Food processing, sugar refineries, cement factories, and cigarette manufacturing are other important industries. However, costs of manufacture are very high and Syrian industrial goods cannot compete with goods produced in the West. A high protective tariff and government subsidies have kept these industries operating. Although Syria produces no oil, it receives some revenue from the oil pipelines which run across her desert lands from Arabia and Iraq.

Compared to Lebanon, educational and health standards are very low. At least 60% of the Syrian population is illiterate and only 10% of school-age children receive secondary education. The government is now offering elementary education to more than half of the children of school age, but expenditures on education are inadequate.

The death rate, particularly infant mortality, is quite high. Malaria and intestinal diseases afflict much of the population. Poor diet and housing conditions foster these and many other diseases. Although the number of doctors and hospitals has increased in the last twenty years, medical facilities are still greatly inadequate and the government allocates a very small part of the national budget for health services.

IRAQ

Of all of the countries in the middle east, none has declined as dramatically as Iraq. For many thousands of years, Iraq was the home of large populations and a center of great wealth, culture and political power. As a consequence of Mongol invasions in the thirteenth century, and Turkish misrule and corruption, from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, Iraq declined to a poverty-stricken, thinly-populated, backward area.

Iraq—known in ancient times as Mesopotamia, meaning "Land Between the Rivers"—has three main geographic regions: the rolling hills and mountains to the north and east along the Turkish and Iranian borders; the rich river valleys and plains along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and desert regions to the west and south.

Iraq is today potentially the richest middle east country. It has rich soil, plenty of water from the Tigris and Euphrates rivers and great oil and natural gas resources. About 75% of the population are farmers, and approximately 15% live in cities or towns. Baghdad, the capital, has over 600,000 inhabitants. Although much improvement has been made in recent years, Iraq is still underpopulated and a majority of the

people are poor, illiterate and diseased. Only 20% of the potential agricultural land is being used.

There are five million people in Iraq. Of four million Arabic-speaking Moslems, a little more than half are Shi'a Moslems, and the remainder are Sunni Moslems. In Iraq, the Sunni Moslems tend to be better educated and are more politically and economically powerful. About 300,000 persons are Kurds and 150,000 are Christians.

From 1933 to July, 1958, Iraq was a parliamentary monarchy in which the government was dominated by rich landlords. Nowhere in the middle east, except perhaps in Egypt, have the landlords been more selfish or the peasants more exploited than in Iraq. Under the monarchy, most of the peasants were in a state of serfdom.

Because of less contact with the West, nationalist sentiment was not as developed in Iraq as in Egypt or Syria. The parliamentary government of the landlords was corrupt, wasteful, and little concerned with the welfare of the population. Although anti-foreign sentiment was strong, the government maintained unpopular economic and political ties with the British.

Finally, in July, 1958, Kassim, a military commander, led a coup and killed young King Feisal and Nuri-Es Said, the prominent landlord leader of the government. Iraq is now a republic in name; actually it is ruled by a military clique led by Kassim.

Disease is even more wide spread in Iraq than in Syria. Malaria, parasitic and social diseases afflict most of the children. The damp and swampy terrain in parts of the Tigris-Euphrates valleys provides an excellent breeding ground for diseases which are not found elsewhere in the Arab world, except in Egypt. Illiteracy, too, is a major problem in Iraq. It is only since 1952 that the government has made serious efforts to provide public education for large numbers of children. Still, a majority of children get no education at all.

Other than oil production, Iraq has practically no industries. The agricultural richness of the country and the small number of people available for industrial work have made industrial development seem undesirable and unnecessary.

Roughly 10% of the world's known oil reserves are in Iraq. At the present time, Iraq supplies about 5% of the world's oil, and receives over two hundred million dollars a year in oil revenue.

Social and economic conditions were so deplorable and government corruption and inefficiency so widespread that in 1950, under British guidance, an Economic Development Board was set up to direct

economic development. About 70% of Iraq's oil revenue was given to the Board for social and economic projects.

Many programs of water control, improvement of transportation and health facilities, construction of schools and public housing, and soil conservation were undertaken. These programs were designed to provide for the long-range economic and social development of the country. Impressive hydro-electric power plants, flood control projects and other badly needed facilities were completed under British guidance. But these impressive and worthwhile projects did not meet the immediate and pressing needs of the Iraqi population; in spite of the great wealth of their nation they continued to live in unbelievable poverty. The government remained dominated by the landlords and insensitive to the condition of the populace. General unrest grew.

The introduction by the Development Board of mechanized farm equipment, for which Iraq, like the United States, is unusually well-suited, has caused many thousands of peasants to be driven off the land. Many drifted to Baghdad, where they joined the ever-increasing city mobs. This was the background for the July, 1958, Army coup, when the King and Nuri-Es-Said were put to death. It is interesting that General Kassim, the leader of this coup, has continued the work of the Economic Development Board in a more or less unchanged form.

JORDAN

Jordan had never been an independent state until the twentieth century. In 1922 the state of Trans-Jordan, consisting of the lands East of the Jordan River, was broken off from the British Palestine mandate and made into a British protectorate. A British ally, Abdullah, was made ruler. The British trained a small, but efficient Jordanian desert police force, known as the Arab Legion, which for a long time was the main fighting force in the Arab world.

Jordan became independent in 1948. In the same year it entered the Arab-Israeli war and took over the central part of the former Palestine mandate, including Bethlehem and the old city of Jerusalem. The acquisition was in many ways the cause of many of the later political disturbances in the new state of Jordan.

Before 1948 Jordan's population of 400,000 consisted largely of Bedouin. After taking over this new territory, the population of Jordan was tripled by the addition of over 800,000 Palestine Arabs. About half of these new citizens were residents of the newly-acquired territory. The others were refugees from Israeli territory. These people, in part town and city dwellers, were better educated and more Westernized.

They were also more nationalistic and had little in common with the politically-dominant tribal population.

In 1951 Abdullah was assassinated by an Arab nationalist from Palestine. Only the loyalty of the Arab legion, drawn from the Bedouin population of Jordan, has kept Abdullah's grandson, King Hussein, in power. In 1956, nationalist pressure forced Hussein to break his close military ties with the British.

In April, 1957, a Nasser-inspired coup, supported by some Arab legion Army officers and much of the Palestine Arab population, attempted to overthrow Hussein but failed. Hussein joined his cousin, King Feisal of Iraq, in February, 1958, in forming the anti-Nasser Arab Federation, consisting of Iraq and Jordan. This fell apart in July, when General Kasim overthrew the monarchy in Iraq. In the summer of 1958, at the same time that U. S. troops entered Lebanon, British forces were flown into Jordan at Hussein's request. Jordan has, in effect, leaned on Britain and the U.S. for economic and military support.

Arabia

The Arabian peninsula is the most backward region in the middle east and is the part of the Arab world least affected by Western ways. It is a huge area—one million square miles—more than one third the size of the United States. It is almost entirely desert region, totally unsuitable for agriculture. Most of its inhabitants are nomads. Present day society in Arabia is much the same as it was in the time of Mohammed. People are members of large tribal groupings. Although there are a number of nominal governments in the Arabian peninsula, tribal loyalties are supreme. Nationalism is unknown in Arabia, except among Arabs who have come from the more Westernized parts of the Arab world to work in the oil industry.

Saudi Arabia is the largest state in the Arabian peninsula. Ibn Saud, an important tribal chieftain and leader of a puritanical Islamic religious sect, succeeded in the 1920's in making himself the ruler of Saudi Arabia. It was he who gave the very rich oil concessions to American interests on the eve of World War II. His son, Saud, is the ruler of Saudi Arabia today.

A second state in the Arabian peninsula is Kuwait. Kuwait is totally insignificant, except that it has more than 20% of the world's known oil resources. It is an area about the size of Rhode Island, consisting entirely of barren desert. It has a population of 200,000 and is ruled by Sheikh Abdullah As Salim As Sabeh, a tribal chieftain. Kuwait is a British protectorate.

Both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait receive more than three hundred million dollars each in oil royalties yearly. Most of this money becomes the personal income of the royal families. However, under British guidance, much of Kuwait's oil revenue has been invested for the royal family in British securities.

Saudi Arabia is theoretically independent, but is in fact very much an American protectorate. The United States maintains one of its major overseas military installations at Dhaharan on the Persian Gulf. The major oil installations, entirely American owned, are also located in and around Dhaharan.

Many thousands of American military personnel and civilians work and live in Dhaharan. Also, thousands of local Arabs work in the military and oil installations. Aramco, the Arabian American Oil Company, is the only major industrial employer in Saudi Arabia. It has improved the living standards and conditions of the Bedouin population near their installations, but neither the oil companies nor the rulers of Arabia seem to be interested in rapid social change.

Yemen, in southern Arabia, is the only part of the Arabian peninsula suited for agriculture. Due to surrounding mountains it has rainfall, and adequate water for farming. It is a major producer of coffee.

Yemen is one of the most isolated and backwards parts of the world. It has a population of five million persons who are governed by a religious leader known as the Iman. Most natives belong to a branch of the Shi'a sect of Islam, and the Iman is both spiritual and secular leader of the nation. In 1958, Yemen federated itself with the United Arab Republic, but this has had no apparent effect on its government.

The demand for social reform underlies much of current unrest in the middle east. Before such countries as Iraq, Syria and Egypt can be strong and unified nations, ways must be found to alleviate the great social problems which breed hostility and unrest among the mass of the population. As in Iran, the problem of land ownership underlies much of this unrest. Although the peasants are the most numerous and backward segment of the population of the Arab states, inevitably the growth of literacy, the influence of the West—particularly the growth of nationalism—will affect them.

It is the cities of the middle east which are today the centers for unrest. In the cities the emerging middle class constitute the leaders of nationalism and of the demand for social reform. The military figures who rule the important Arab states are more and more relying on the urban middle class to maintain their positions of power. Unfortunately, the Arab middle class, made up of Westernized profes-

sional men and merchants, is at present poorly prepared to serve their homelands.

Educated Arabs have a deeply-rooted aversion to working with their hands. This is a traditional feeling, which has existed for centuries throughout the Arab world and in much of Asia and Africa. The pressing need of these undeveloped states, however, is technicians and skilled labor of every sort. A good part of the professionally educated Arabs have received liberal arts educations, especially in the field of law. The law colleges of the Arab world have been centers for political agitation.

While there is a surplus of white collar professional workers, there are far too few engineers and skilled workmen in the Arab states to meet the needs of modern industrial nations. The dislike of working with their hands also tends to cause the Arab middle class to look down on farmers and farming.

It is traditional among educated Arabs to glorify the Bedouin and to allege their ancestors were Bedouin. There is a definite lack of sympathy between the city and the farm, and this weakens the unity of the Arab nations. This problem of having well-educated technicians and skilled manual workers is well understood by the leaders of the Arab world, but it remains to be seen whether they will have the capacity and the determination to make the necessary reforms.

Chapter VII

ZIONISM AND ISRAEL

The creation of Israel was the result of fifty years of Zionist effort and struggle.

There are two kinds of Zionism—spiritual Zionism and political Zionism. Spiritual Zionism looks upon the Holy Land as the religious center of the Jewish nation. It is ages old, dating from the time of the first exile of the Jews from the Holy Land 2,500 years ago. The lament of Jeremiah and the other exiles in the land of Babylon is among the most moving parts of the Bible. "By the waters of Babylon, we wept, yea we wept when we thought of Zion." Since the time of the second exile, almost 2,000 years ago, devout Jews have prayed for the time when God would rebuild their ancient homeland.

Although political Zionism has spiritual roots, it is primarily a secular movement that grew up in Europe in the late nineteenth century. Political Zionism sought a national solution to the Jewish problem, particularly as it existed in Europe.

Political Zionism was formulated by a Viennese Jew, Theodore Herzl. He was a well-educated lawyer and journalist, who had few ties with his religious community. For a long time, however, he had noted and been disturbed by the deeply-rooted anti-Jewish sentiment in his native Austro-Hungary. While serving as the Paris correspondent of Vienna's leading newspaper, he covered the famous Dreyfus trials and was horrified by the extreme anti-semitism of a large part of the French population which the trials of this obscure, but innocent Jewish captain, brought to the surface. He concluded that anti-Jewish feelings were so strong in Europe that much of the European Jewish population had no choice but to resettle in a national home of their own. Because of the historic and cultural ties of the Jewish people to the Holy Land, he believed that Turkish Palestine should be the site of this national home. His book, *The Jewish State,* published in 1896, expressing this view, created world-wide interest in his ideas.

In 1897, in Basel, Switzerland, Herzl convened the first Zionist congress and there created the World Zionist Organization. This Organization dedicated itself to the famous Basel Program calling for "a pub-

lically recognized, legally secured home for the Jewish people in Palestine." The Zionist Organization sought not only to rebuild the Jewish national home, but also to revive the Jewish cultural heritage particularly the Hebrew language. Although most Jews could read and write Hebrew, they used it only as a church language. The Zionists wishes to make Hebrew the everyday language of their state. First in order to establish a strong link with the greatest period of Jewish history—the time of the prophets—and, secondly, to break their European connections.

Yiddish, a form of German with an admixture of Hebrew, was the language spoken by the great majority of European Jews. The Zionists looked upon Yiddish as the language of exile and did not want it to become the national tongue of the new Jewish state.

Although political Zionism was founded by a Western Jew in Western Europe, it received most of its support from the Yiddish-speaking masses of Eastern Europe. In such Western European countries as the United States, France, Germany, and Great Britain, the leaders of the Jewish communities largely opposed Zionism and felt that such a nationalist movement would jeopardize their political and social positions. They regarded themselves as Americans, Frenchmen, Germans, or Englishmen of the Jewish faith.

In Eastern Europe, where most Jews of the world lived, there was no question, either among Jews or their neighbors, that Jews were a distinct nationality. In Eastern Europe, the Jews spoke their own language–Yiddish— hads their own community organization, and lived in their own compact areas. In Czarist Russia the Jews were forced to live in a narow strip of land extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea known as the "Pale."

Up to World War II, a sizeable part of the Eastern European Jewish population remained religiously orthodox, living according to traditional patterns isolated from the outside world. From the time of the French revolution, there was a continuous, organized break-off of Jews from this ghetto-type existence.

This movement was known as the Haskalah, or Enlightenment. These enlightened Jews, having broken their traditional ties, entered into the mainstream of European cultural and political life. In Western Europe, many assimilated into the Christian communities; others embraced Reform Judaism, which minimized religious and cultural differences between Jews and non-Jews.

There were three main political movements embraced by these enlightened Jews in Eastern Europe. The largest of these was known as

the Bund, which was a labor movement, made up entirely of Jews. The Bund recognized that Jews were a nationality—one of many oppressed nationalities living in the great multi-national Austro-Hungarian and Czarist Russian Empires. The Bund favored the creation of Jewish enclaves, where Jews could have a large measure of cultural and liguistic autonomy. The believed Jews, as a distinct group, could make a contribution to the improvement of Europe. The Bund was a major political force in Eastern European politics prior to World War I.

The second largest group of these Eastern European Jews became Internationalists. Although recognizing that Jews were a nationality, they favored breaking down and ultimately, abolishing national differences between people. Most of them joined the Social Democratic parties.

The Zionists were the smallest of these three groups prior to World War I. Zionists disagreed with both the Bund and the Internationalists and felt that Jews had no future in Eastern Europe. They argued that Jews, unlike other oppressed nationalities, such as the Poles, the Ukranians, and the Finns, had no farming class or roots on the land. Because of the restrictions placed on them, they had few industrial workers and a disproportionately high percentage worked as artisans and petty traders.

The heart of the Jewish problem, the Zionists contended, was caused by the concentration of Jews in professions. Because of their tradition of learning and literacy, Jews were unique among the various nationality groups in Europe. Most Jewish men were highly literate, whereas up to the 20th century, most non-Jews in Eastern and Central Europe were illiterate. The high ratio of Jews in the professions, according to the Zionists, was not a normal or good situation for any nationality.

The Zionists believed that the Jewish nation, like other nations, could only be healthy if it had a large farming and working class. This change would be possible only in a Jewish national home. Moreover, they felt that the Eastern European political scene was so unstable, and the traditions of anti-Jewish feelings so deeply ingrained, that Jews could not be integrated into the new national states that were emerging.

The Zionists not only feared the physical destruction of Jews, but feared cultural and spiritual destruction as well. They believed that, because the Jews made such obvious and natural scapegoats, they would be victimized under any form of government that appeared in Eastern Europe. The Zionists had long arguments with the leaders of

the newly-formed Bolshevik party. The Bolsheviks urged Jews to join them in building a socialist state in which there would be no discrimination against any nationality. The Zionists contended that although a Bolshevik regime might use the Jews as a cadre, ultimately they would turn on them and use them as a scapegoat when their technical skills were no longer needed.

Violent anti-Jewish persecution, just prior to and during World War I, caused Jews to lose faith in the Bund and in Internationalism and the Zionists emerged as the dominant political group among Eastern European Jews.

The World Zionist Organization grew during the pre-World War I years and Zionist groups sprang up throughout the Jewish world. During World War I, Zionists in Britain, led by Chaim Weizmann, a prominent chemist, negotiated with the British government, and in November, 1917, the famous Balfour Declaration was issued. This pledged the British government to work for the establishment of a national home for Jews in Palestine.

After the war, the British were awarded a mandate for Palestine by the League of Nations, and the Zionist Organization rallied political support for the Jewish community there. Most Jewish leaders in the Western countries remained hostile to Zionism until just before the end of World War II. The Nazi-German massacre of millions of Jews in Europe caused the entire Jewish world to support the Zionist cause.

Although most Jews in countries such as the United States and Britain are not members of Zionist organizations, they support the Zionist goal of a national home in the Holy Land, which was realized by the creation of the state of Israel in 1948. Since 1948, the Zionist organizations have sought to help Israel develop economically and to strengthen cultural and spiritual ties between the Jewish communities of the world and the national home in the Holy Land. The work of the Zionist organization laid the foundations and molded the character of the present state of Israel. Training camps were established in Europe and America to teach farming and trades to young Jews interested in settling in the Holy Land.

In addition to practical instruction, the Zionists sought to stimulate pride and awareness in the culture, literature and ancient traditions of the Jewish people. The accent was always on the youth, for it would be they who would rebuild the national home. The spirited folk songs and dances, which symbolized the vitality and dedication of the pioneers, were part of every young Zionist's life. National funds were set up to purchase land and to build farms and industries.

The official organization, representing the Zionists in dealing with the British mandatory government, was known as the Jewish Agency. This Jewish Agency was in effect the future Israeli government. Long before 1948, the Jewish community of Palestine had its own representative assembly and governed itself under the supervision of the British mandatory. The political parties were highly organized and reflected the different political, social and religious attitudes and cleavages among Jews in Eastern and Central Europe.

The early Zionist immigrants who came to Israel were from Eastern Europe and were well educated, and highly idealistic. They brought with them the social and political ideas which permeated Eastern Europe prior to the Bolshevik Revolution. Although most of the citizens of Israel today are not Eastern Europeans, the political and economic patterns set by the early settlers continue to dominate the nation, particularly the ideas of "self-labor" and of "return to the soil." The idea of returning to the soil was a response the peculiar circumstances of Jews in Europe. The early settlers sought to create a Jewish peasant class to meet the needs of the new state. A large network of collective and cooperative farms were established. Some of the best educated citizens of Palestine helped build and run these farms, which produce a wide variety of crops, including the famous Jaffa oranges—the country's principal crop and major export item. A large part of Israel's political and cultural leadership has come from these farms. Today the cooperative farms provide a livelihood for thousands of new immigrants.

Jewish Palestine's well-organized educational system, has been so greatly expanded in recent years that today children in both rural communities and cities receive elementary and secondary education which is on a par with that of most advanced Western countries.

By 1939 there existed in Palestine a prosperous and well-organized Jewish community of over a half-million persons. The Jewish community was largely urban with more than half the population living in the three majors cities—Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem. Even at that time, industry, rather than farming, was the major source of income.

The idea of "self labor," brought by the early settlers, has emphasized the dignity and virtue of labor and has manifested itself in the large Israel labor union, known as the Histadrut. The Histadrut today is the dominant political and economic force in Israel. In the 1930's industrial development in Israel was greatly boosted by the thousands of German refugees who came to Palestine, bringing with them many technical skills, industrial machinery and capital.

The new state of Israel lies on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean in the heart of the middle east. Its land area is 8,000 square miles about the same as that of Connecticut. The northern half of the country has a mild Mediterranean climate with much rain in the winter months. The southern half, known as the Negev, is a hot arid semi-desert region. Although a small state, Israel has a number of distinct geographic regions. To the north, lie the rolling hills of Galilee; south of Galilee lies the Valley of Jezrael; to the east along the shore of the Mediterranean is the rich coastal plain where most of the Israeli population live; and to the west is the very low and semi-tropical Jordan Valley. Israel today has a population of approximately 2,2000,000—of whom about two million are Jews, 150,000 Moslems and 50,000 are Christians.

Israel has a democratic form of government similar to that of Great Britain. There is a Parliament of 120 members who are elected by universal sufferage from a number of different parties.

No single party has had a majority of the seats in Parliament, and coalitions of the leading parties have continuously governed the country. A British-styled cabinet headed by a prime minister is the executive branch of the government. Although highly centralized this government is clearly the most effective and democratic in the middle east. The civil service, which carries out the government's policies, is honest, dedicated, and reasonably efficient, although it is sometimes unimaginative and bound by excessive red tape.

The liberal idealism of the Eastern European founders of Israel has been translated into elaborate programs of welfare state activities, such as complete health insurance, government-sponsored full employment projects, and extensive retirement benefits. About 65% of Israel's population belongs to the Israel labor federation, the Histadrut, and the leading figures in the government are prominent trade unionists.

Since the creation of the state immigration and defense have been the major concerns of the government. About a million immigrants entered Israel after 1948. Most of them were poor, backward, diseased, and undernourished. They came from every corner of the world, speaking more than fifty different languages. North Africa, Rumania, Poland and Iraq supplied the majority of the immigrants, although the arrivals from such exotic and isolated places as Yemen, India and Kurdistan were perhaps the most unusual. The Israel government has faced staggering problems in providing housing, schools, medical care and jobs. Perhaps even more complicated have been the tasks involved in integrating these people into a national state and introducing them to a modern way of life. Some immigrants had previously lived in modern

communities, but others, had only known the most primitive ways of living.

With the financial support of Jews from abroad and with German reparation payments to aid in settling victims of German persecutions, the Israelis have had great success in integrating these new citizens. The assimilation of these million immigrants would not have been possible, however, without a capable and idealistic cadre of men and women. The older settlers have worked with much dedication and zeal to assist and educate the newcomers.

The most useful tool in transforming the immigrants has been the Army. Men and unmarried women alike are required to serve in the Israeli army for two to two-and-one-half years. The Israeli army conducts a thorough educational program to teach new immigrants the Hebrew language, Israeli history and geography, personal hygiene and a wide variety of technical skills. The military service has been especially helpful in emancipating women, by educating them and teaching them to be self reliant.

While the army plays a vital role in rehabilitating immigrants, defense expenditures are a major drain on the Israeli economy. Were it not for the high cost of maintaining a large modern army, Israel's industrial and agricultural production, although not comparable in efficiency to that of the United States, could support the present high standard of living without any outside aid. Almost a third of Israel's budget is committed to defense.

The high standard of living which Israel enjoys is based on her reasonably efficient industrial economy. Industry has played an important role in absorbing the thousands of immigrants who are continually entering the country. Almost all of her national leaders agree that Israel's future is tied up with her industrial growth. Even though the early Zionists advocated that immigrants should return to the soil to rebuild themselves and the Jewish homeland, the scarcity of agricultural land has often made it more practical to train newcomers for manufacturing.

Israel's political and industrial strength in great part comes from the fact that her people are not disease-ridden or illiterate as are most other middle easterners. Good health and educational facilities have been important in integrating the immigrants and turning them into productive citizens. Israel does have social problems, especially among the various immigrant nationalities, but she does not have any profound class conflicts based on sharp differences in wealth or social position.

Although Israelis have a more temperate and constructive nationalism than the Arabs or Iranians, it is nevertheless, highly spirited. The idealism which the early Jewish pioneers brought to the country is still a major force, especially among the youth. The advanced social ideas embodied in the trade union and cooperative movements are an influence on the native-born generation as on their fathers. Israel does have her share of juvenile delinquents, but the tradition of pioneering —of reclaiming the desert; of draining the swamplands and of guarding the frontiers—still guides much of her youth.

One of Israel's major problems is that of national security. Every man and unmarried woman must not only serve in the army, but must also spend one month each year in the military reserves. Although life in Israel to a great extent revolves around the army, the country's institutions have proven sufficiently strong to keep the military leaders subservient to the civilian officials.

Israel is a small country with limited resources, but it has two advantages which few countries possess. It is the Holy Land of Christians, Moslems and Jews, and contains hundreds of religious and historical places of interest. Thousands of tourists visit the country yearly and tourism is a major income source. Undoubtedly, with a permanent Arab-Israeli peace, Israel would become an even more popular center for tourists and pilgrims.

Israel's second asset is brain power. Many of the early settlers, particularly many refugees from Germany, have been among the leading scientists and scholars in the world. The government has been very conscious of the nation's potential for scientific research and has sought to make it an internationally-recognized scientific center. Israel has a number of institutions of higher learning: the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the Weizmann Institute, and the Israel Institute of Technology, which are world-reknown. Israeli scientists have played an important part in international scientific conferences. Many such conferences are now held regularly in Israel. Extensive research has been carried on in Israel on a number of projects—especially the conversion of sea water to fresh water and the development of synthetic fibers. Israel's scientific progress has aided her in obtaining the friendship of undeveloped countries in Asia and Africa.

An unresolved problem of general interest is the place of religion in Israel. Most of the early builders of the Jewish state were in rebellion against the traditional orthodoxy of Eastern Europe. They also brought with them the militant secularism which has characterized the liberal and labor movements or continental Europe. Most of Israel's leaders

and the dominant political parties are strongly secular-minded. About 15% of Israel's population support religious parties which favor a more traditional Jewish way of life.

Israel, like European countries such as France, Italy and Switzerland, has friction between its secular and religious parties. The fact that religious functionaries have more authority in Israel than in most Western countries has been an important source of controversy. Israel has continued the old Ottoman Turkish policy of allowing the Christian, Moslem and Jewish religious officials the exclusive right to regulate such family matters as marriage, divorce and inheritance. There is no civil marriage or divorce in Israel.

In spite of the strong secular feelings, there is great interest in the Bible and Biblical history and archeology among all leading Israelis. In Israel, as in the Arab states, religion cannot be separated from nationality. Israel's great national poet Bialik well expressed the religious element in Israeli nationalism when he wrote: "Perhaps with all the tears, sweat and blood that has been poured by Jews into the soil of Israel, the earth of the Holy Land will become pregnant and again give birth to prophets."

Chapter VIII

THE ARAB—ISRAELI CONFLICT

The Arab-Israeli conflict is a clash between two nationalist movements, each having its own goals and its own legitimate claims and grievances. No matter how the dispute is ultimately resolved, one or both parties will surely suffer. One must expect that, with the world's population rapidly approaching three billion, and with the growing scarcity of land surface, problems of dislocation and resettlement of large numbers of people will often follow military and political upheavals.

Jewish nationalism, or Zionism, a high-developed Westernized nationalist movement, is the moving spirit of the state of Israel. Arab nationalism, in contrast, no less legitimate, is much less developed and as yet influences a small number of the Arab people in the middle east.

What is often mistakenly called Arab nationalism is usually anti-foreignism. Most middle eastern Arabs have not yet developed a strong national consciousness, or a loyalty to their national state, because tribal or clan allegiances still bind them. Israel's strength, and unity is based on her cadre of dedicated nationalists.

Israel, to its Arab neighbors, symbolizes the West and Western colonial rule. Arab nationalists, like other nationalists in Asia and Africa, are envious of Western technological and social progress, and are jealous and fearful of Western power. Eastern European Jewish settlers, coming into their midst, have been a constant, irritating reminder of their own economic and political weaknesses.

The well-educated Jewish settlers coming to Palestine with their high standards of living, made great efforts to become friendly with the Arabs, but had little success. The local Arab population remained suspicious and hostile. Particularly prior to World War II, the cultural and social differences between the Jewish and Arab communities in Palestine were so great that, even without the rival nationalist claims, there still would have been much misunderstanding.

The early Zionist emphasis on complete social and economic equality disturbed many traditional-minded Arabs; especially in regard to women. While most Arab women have been subservient to their hus-

bands or fathers, the early Zionists stressed complete emancipation for women. Arab sensibilities have been disturbed by Jewish women in the army, and Westernized clothing, particularly shorts. Arab soldiers, during the Arab-Israeli war and in the Suez war, were understandably chagrined to be captured or guarded by women soldiers.

Throughout Asia and Africa, there is a great awareness and sensitivity of racial differences. The Asian and African people, including the Arabs, look with suspicion and resentment on the "European Race." Israel's leaders and early settlers, coming from eastern Europe, with European features have symbolized the white Western world to the Arabs.

There is little doubt that if the Israelis had been another of the local middle eastern peoples, such as the Kurds, the Nestorians or the Armenians, Arab opposition to them would have been much less bitter. A hopeful sign in regard to racial differences is that most of the recent immigrants into Israel have been colored, coming from Asia and Africa. Moreover, among the Israelis there has been a conscious effort to break European ties and make their culture and society more middle eastern.

Arab-Israeli hostility has aggravated relations between the Arabic-speaking Jewish populations and the Arabic-speaking Moslem populations throughout the middle east. Since the beginning of the hostilities in 1947 ancient Jewish communities have been driven out of such countries as Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Even without the Arab-Israeli hostilities, the growth of nationalism would have made it impossible for Jews to remain in these countries. Long before 1947, nationalism was breaking down the feudal system, in which Jews and other non-Moslems had special professions and special functions in the general Arab society. Undoubtedly, though, the exodus of Jews from these lands was speeded up by the establishment of Israel.

In November, 1917, the British government, through Foreign Minister Lord Balfour, formally committed itself to work for the establishof a Jewish national home, and, in 1922, the League of Nations gave Britain a mandate to establish a Jewish homeland in what had been Turkish Palestine. A mixture of idealistic and practical political reasons motivated the Balfour Declaration. The dominant political party in Britain at that time, the Liberals, had leaders, who because of their fundamentalist Protestant backgrounds, were sympathetic to Zionism. Other British leaders were captivated by the idea of having a Jewish state in the middle east as a part of the British Empire. Such a person was Sir Mark Sykes, the ranking career foreign service officer for the middle east.

The British government, even at this time, well understood that the Arabs as well as the Zionists had claims on Turkish Palestine; wanting Arab as well as Jewish support of the war effort, they clearly were deliberately vague in making what amounted to contradictory promises to the Arabs.

In regard to future Arab-Israeli differences, the British made two incorrect assumptions which seemed well founded in 1917. They first assumed that tens of thousands of Jews would pour into Palestine after the war. In Russia, there were already scores of Zionist training camps preparing Jews for Palestine, and the great mass of Russians Jews were known to be strongly pro-Zionist. However, after the Bolshevik Revolution, the Communist leaders, strongly anti-Zionist, prohibited Jews from leaving Russian and outlawed Zionist activity and the use of Hebrew as a spoken language. The Bolsheviks did not want to lose the technically-trained Jewish cadre, nor did they want to acknowledge that other lands could be more appealing than their Soviet state.

The second British assumption was that Jews all over the world would give large amounts to build the Jewish home land. Most well-to-do Jews, however, until World War II, were opposed to Zionism, and funds for the Jewish home land trickled in until the Hitler persecutions. Until the Nazi German accession, the Jewish home land developed very slowly. From 1920 to 1933 the Jewish population of Palestine slowly rose to about two hundred thousand. The Arab population, in the meantime, increased from six to eight hundred thousand. As a consequence of Hitler's persecutions, the Jewish population increased to over six hundred thousand by 1946.

Over the period from 1920 to 1935 the British followed a wavering course in regard to rival Jewish and Arab nationalist claims. Some British officials in Palestine and London were strongly pro-Zionist; others, conscious of Britain's place in the Arab world, were strongly pro-Arab and favored termination of the Jewish national home. Clearly, if the British during this time had favored one faction over the other, this would have been decisive.

The British trained an efficient civil service in Palestine and educated an entire generation of Palestinian Arabs. With political stability, economic progress and education, Arab nationalism grew rapidly. There were clashes between Jews and Arabs in 1929, and 1936. The Palestine Arab community, however, remained highly feudal and did not develop a sense of nationhood, comparable to that of the Palestine Jewish community. They developed no internal political government, as did the Jews, and they had only one outstanding leader over the per-

iod of 1920 to 1947, the Grand Mufti. The latter was able, but he was selfish and tyrannical. He was more a traditionalist leader rather than a nationalist. Many of the wealthy Arab landowners and merchants, unlike the peasantry, had no ties to Palestine and spent much of their time in Beirut, Damascus or Europe.

The Nazi German holocaust focused world attention on the problem of Jewish homelessness. Jewish communities of the world were almost unanimous in recognizing that the land of Israel was the only available refuge for the remnant of European Jews. The British, who had closed the doors of Palestine and repudiated their mandate in 1939 in order to placate Arab opinion, were pressured to admit Jewish refugees. The Palestine Jewish community became more and more anti-British.

In 1947 the British turned the Palestine problem over to the United Nations, which after lengthy deliberation passed a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state with an international zone for the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. There was to be an economic union between the two states. The neighboring Arab states refused to accept the UN Resolution and declared that upon the British withdrawal from Palestine on May 15, 1948, they would invade the Holy Land.

From November 29, 1947 to May 15, 1948, there was much guerilla warfare. On May 15 the Arab armies of Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Trans Jordan entered Palestine, and the Arab-Israeli war began. The invading Arab armies were initially much better equipped than the Israelis, but they were poorly organized, their morale was low, and the invading nations bickered among themselves as to the spoils of war before the battles had been won.

The Arab soldiers were excellent fighting men, but many of their officers, coming from the land-owning class, were distinterested in the welfare of their men and were incompetent as leaders. The British trained and led Arab Legion, though in reality a desert police corps and not an army, was the only efficient Arab fighting force.

At the beginning of the fighting, the Jewish forces were poorly equipped, but the morale was high and they were well organized. Moreover, they knew that they had no choice but to fight or be driven into the sea. The collective settlements made up of young men and women were the backbone of the Israeli defense. These settlements had been deliberately placed along the frontiers to serve as outposts. Although dozens of these settlements were subject to continuous and severe attack for weeks on end, not one of them within the area al-

lotted to the Jewish state by the United Nations fell to Arab attack.

By the autumn of 1948 the new Israeli state was receiving armament from abroad, and very quickly the Israeli forces were able to drive out the invading Arab armies. In February and March of 1949, under UN guidance, Armistice agreements were concluded between Israel and all the Arab states except Iraq. The boundary lines between Israel and her neighbors were based on the positions of the two armies, and not on any rational basis. This has caused many Arab villagers to be separated from their farm land and has been a source of friction to the present time.

A state of cold war has existed between Israel and the Arab states since the conclusion of the armistice agreements. In November, 1949, the Arab states instituted a blockade and a boycott of Israel and Israeli goods. Foreign firms that traded with Israel were blacklisted. More disturbing to the Israelis, the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tiran, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, were closed to Israeli shipping and Israeli goods.

The cold war has also seen fighting and infiltration along the Israeli border. Particularly in the beginning of this cold war, former Palestinian Arabs crossed the borders at night to harvest the fields they had once owned. More and more, as time went on, however, frontier crossings and attacks on people and property in Israel came to represent a deliberate harassment policy, encouraged and, at times, conducted by the Arab governments. The Israelis carried out several punitive raids in retaliation. There have also been frontier clashes between Israeli troops on one side and those of Jordan, Syria and Egypt on the other.

Interestingly, the only frontier of Israel that has not seen some border tension has been that of Lebanon. With its large Christian population, Lebanon shares many of Israel's fears of Arab nationalism. Although the Lebanese government endorses and gives nominal support to the Arab cause, it has not taken any military action against Israel and has not permitted her territory to be used for attacking the Jewish state. Some leaders of the Christian and Druse communities in Lebanon have even braved the wrath of their Moslem neighbors and have spoken out for an Arab-Israeli peace.

In Israel itself the Arabic-speaking Christian and Druse communities are well integrated and serve in the Israeli army on the same basis as Jewish Israelis. This is not true of the Arab Moslem population which is not taken into the Israeli army.

In 1952 a military Junta, ultimately commanded by Nasser, ruled Egypt, and led the Arab opposition to Israel. From 1952 to 1954 the

Egyptians were trying to drive the British from the Suez Canal region. The Egyptian government unable to directly attack British forces, sponsored and trained groups of civilian fighters, known as Fedayin, to attack and harrass British troops and British military installations. In 1954 Britain agreed to withdraw from the canal region and large scale Fedayin attacks were launched against Israel.

Most of these attacks came from Egyptian bases in Gaza and Sinai, but others, under Egyptian direction, came from Jordan and Syria. The Fedayin were recruited from former Palestinian Arabs and from adventuresome young Egyptians. Their duties were to spy on the Israelis, to destroy property and communications, and to kill. Many hundreds of Fedayin attacks, by groups and individuals, were carried out in 1955 and '56. Military installations and soldiers were seldom attacked, and most of the victims were civilians, including women and children. The Fedayin attacks, understandably, greatly provoked the Israelis, but it was probably the Soviet shipments, starting in 1955, of large quantities of modern military equipment to Nasser which most disturbed the Israelis.

Until July, 1956, the three major Western powers—the United States, Great Britain and France—tried to appease Nasser and were unwilling to either give or sell armaments to either the Arabs or the Israelis. The Israelis felt themselves isolated and feared Nasser would attack them at his convenience from his bases in Sinai. The situation greatly changed when Nasser, breaking his treaty with the British, seized the Suez Canal in July, 1956. The British and French were furious. The French were especially angry at Nasser for his support of the Algerian rebels; his seizure of the partially French-owned canal was the last straw. France entered into a close military and economic alliance with Israel and the British changed their attitude and became supporters of Israel's cause. In October, 1956, Nasser established a unified military command for Egypt, Syria and Jordan, Israel's three hostile neighbors, and propaganda attacks on Israel became more threatening.

On October 29 Israeli forces launched a coordinated attack on Egyptian positions in the Sinai peninsula, for the purpose of wiping out the Fedayin bases and the Egyptian military installations. While the other Arab states remained passive, the disciplined and highly-organized Israeli army swept across the Sinai desert, conquered the Egyptian forces there, and reached the Suez Canal, all in a few days.

Under great power pressure, the Israelis agreed to halt their advance and ultimately, to withdraw to their own borders. The United States and the great powers tacitly agreed, however, that the Gulf of Aqaba,

on which Israel's southern port, Eilat, is located, would be opened to international shipping.

A side effect of the Sinai war was the capture by the Israelis of great quantities of Soviet equipment. Nasser had concentrated much of his Soviet equipment in Sinai near the Israeli borders. The Israeli attack apparently caught him by surprise, and they seized hundreds of Soviet tanks, thousands of guns of all sizes, large ammunition and gasoline depots and many hundreds of vehicles. Except for aircraft, the Israelis captured much of the military equipment they felt they needed in the Sinai operation.

Since the Sinai war Israel's borders have been comparatively peaceful. The Arab-Israeli cold war, however, has gone on unabated. The Soviet Union has continued to send arms in increasing quantities to Egypt. The present military balance is precarious. In spite of the more numerous Arab population, the Israelis probably have a larger army than all the middle eastern Arab states combined, because of universal conscription; and their army is probably better trained. However, with the growth of literacy and nationalism among the Arabs, and the continued influx of Soviet equipment and technicians to Egypt and Iraq, this balance could easily be upset. It does not seem likely there will be a permanent Arab-Israeli peace until a strong, effective Arab government appears. While the Arab states remain weak and do not resolve their pressing social problems, no Arab government would dare conclude peace with Israel. Moreover, anti-Israel policies, have been a convenient way of diverting attention from basic internal problems and divisions.

The most pressing issue that grew out of the Arab-Israeli war is the problem of the Arab refugees. More than 600,000 Arabs, former residents of Israel, fled their homes in 1948-49. They now live in or near refugee camps along the Israeli borders, in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan.

Jordan has been the only Arab state which has made any effort to help and to intergrate the refugees. Syria, Egypt and Lebanon have confined the refugees to camps and have done almost nothing to help them. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency has kept the refugees alive by supplying food and health services.

The Arab refugees wish to return to their former homes in Israel and this demand is supported by the Arab governments. The Israelis, who do not want a large hostile minority, contend that the majority of the refugees should be resettled in Arab states, such as Syria and Iraq, which have large areas of undeveloped, well-watered land. The United

States, in August, 1955, offered to largely finance resettlement, if both parties could agree to terms.

For a number of reasons, however, this does not seem likely in the immediate future. The refugees provide the Arab states with their most dramatic argument against Israel. Moreover, if the refugees were admitted to such Arab states as Syria, Iraq and Egypt, the leaders of these countries fear that they would drift into the cities and join the restive city mobs, who are the prime source of political instability in these states.

The great tragedy of the refugees is not so much the economic losses they have suffered, for which they can be compensated, but rather the breakdown of their family structures and the loss of their religious and clan leaders. Even if Israel were to disappear tomorrow, it would be impossible to restore to the refugees the life they knew prior to 1948.

Any resettlement plan for the Arab refugees should provide for the reuniting of clans and villages as far as it is humanly possible to do so. The longer a solution is delayed, the more difficult it will be to resolve this problem. A brighter aspect of the Arab refugee problem is that more than half are under fifteen years of age and have no recollection of Palestine. They would presumably be easier to resettle.

Any solution to the refugee problem requires far-sighted, efficiently carried out, resettlement plans. The Arab states today have neither the will nor the capacity to implement such resettlement. Ultimately it must fall on the United Nations, supported by the great powers, including the United States and the Soviet Union, to solve this problem. Thus the East-West hostility underlies this and many other of the troubles besetting the middle east.

Chapter IX

NASSER AND NASSERISM

In July, 1952, Lieutenant Colonel Gamul Abdul Nasser led a group of young Egyptian army officers in a coup which overthrew the government of King Farouk. Egypt was soon proclaimed a republic and Nasser became its president; in reality, its military dictator. Born into the Egyptian middle class, Nasser has been a professional soldier and an ardent and dedicated nationalist since his youth. He has been anxious to make Egypt again a strong and powerful nation.

The development of the military dictatorship in Egypt has followed a pattern typical of countries in the non-Western world. Much of South America and Southeast Asia today, as parts of Southern and Central Europe in the inter-war years, is governed by military strongmen or groups of army officers.

The governments of countries emerging from feudalism have usually been weak and inefficienct, and the politicians selfish and corrupt. The army has often been the only organized source of strength. Army officers in these countries have recognized that the political weakness of their nation is the cause of military weakness. Many nationalists in these countries share with army officers a disgust and a despair of politicians.

Nasser, then, emerged in much the same way as other military distators. Unlike many other military dictators, however, he has wished to make the basic social and economic reforms essential for the creation of a modern, national state. He has consciously tried to imitate Ataturk, the great military reformer who changed Turkey from a backward feudal nation into a reasonably modern state after World War I.

Like Ataturk, Nasser is personally honest and unselfish, and seems to be sincere, in his wish to modernize Egypt and improve living conditions. Other military dictators have lived extravagantly, in the manner of King Farouk, but Nasser lives simply, even to the point of austerity.

Another similarity has been that Nasser is the leader of a nationalist movement, similar to the young Turks, which seeks to Westernize its home land. Unhappily, up to the present, at least, Nasser has been unable to follow in Ataturk's footsteps. He lacks an adequate cadre of

followers which Ataturk had capable of carrying out necessary reforms.

One cannot understand the comparative success the Turks and Israeli's have had in building modern nationalist states and the lack of success that the Arabs, and the Iranians have had, without understanding that in Turkey and Israel, there existed dedicated nationalist cadres of men and women, and that such cadres are not yet in existence in the Arab states, including Egypt, and in Iran. No matter how capable Nasser may be, without a large group of supporters who share his idealism and objectives, he cannot succeed.

Nasser traces the revolutionary movement he leads back to the earliest Egyptian nationalist struggles against the British in the 1880's. Army officers were for a long time the main source of resistance to the British occupation. Shortly before World War II, the Society of Free officers, a group favoring reform and modernization within the Egyptian army, was formed.

Nasser, who had been active in the society for a number of years became its effective leader in 1950. More and more these officers grew disgusted with the greed of both the politicians and of King Farouk. The Arab-Israeli War of 1947-48 clearly brought out the corruption and weakness of the regime. There were great scandals concerning war profiteering and defective armaments which fully discredited Farouk and many of the political leaders.

No one rose to defend the old regime when Nasser and his fellow officers took power in July, 1952. Led by Nasser, a group of ten army officers known as the Revolutionary Command Council has been Egypt's governing force since 1952. Second in command have been about 250 men drawn from the Society of Free Officers.

On coming to power, the Revolutionary Command Council, in the tradition of Ataturk, introduced an impressive program of much-needed social and economic reforms. Feudal titles such as Pasha were abolished; women were to have equal rights with men and educational, health and welfare benefits were promised.

In the field of agriculture, an ambitious program of reforms was introduced. These agricultural reforms sought to end agricultural feudalism and to redistribute the farming land fairly among the long-suffering peasants. Large estates were to be broken up and a limit was placed on the amount of land that any one person or his family could own. King Farouk had owned about 20% of the farm land of Egypt and this was confiscated by the new government.

Although Nasser has had some success in advancing education and industrialization, he largely failed to carry out his reform programs.

He and his supporters have not proved themselves to be capable enough or dedicated enough to resolve Egypt's staggering problems of overpopulation and poverty. The forces of the old vested economic interests, of tradition and of inertia have, so far at least, proved themselves too formidable.

Most important, Egypt under Nasser still lacks an honest and efficient civil service without which no backward nation can carry out major economic and social reforms. The backbone of the Nasser regime is the Egyptian middle class. In Egypt, as in all the Arab states, the middle class is the leading advocate of nationalism and social reform.

The Egyptian middle class consists in total of about a half million civil servants, businessmen and small landowners. Nasser himself, and most of his army officers come from this class. Unfortunately the Egyptian middle class, and indeed much of the entire Arab middle class is poorly prepared to serve their homelands.

To bring about Nasser's proposed reforms, Egypt must first have technicians and skilled labor. However, educated Arabs have a deeply rooted aversion to working with their hands and look down upon manual work of all sorts. While Egypt has a surplus of white collar professional workers, few educated Egyptians have been willing to work in the fields of agriculture, construction, public health, and mechanics.

The middle class tends to look down on the great mass of the Egyptian population, made up predominantly of illiterate peasants, and has little sympathy for their problems. Many members of the middle class own small tracts of farm land on which peasants work. For these reasons, the middle class has not given the Nasser regime the support it must have to achieve its major reforms.

One of Nasser's most ambitious schemes has been "Liberation Province," a model agricultural project in the desert near Alexandria. This was a plan to resettle parts of Egypt's huge surplus of farm families in modern villages. Much of the revenue from the confiscated lands of King Farouk were poured into the development of "Liberation Province," which was to be a show place of scientific farming, good schools, health centers and modern housing. Although the Nasser government devoted much attention to it, and spent millions of dollars, "Liberation Province" has been basically a failure. Only a few families have been settled there and the amount spent per family has been staggering.

Egypt's traditionally rigid social system, centered around Islam,

has been another force which has successfully retarded Nasser's reforms. Because Egypt is the religious center of the Moslem world, everyday Egyptian life and social attitudes are greatly influenced by Islam. The religious forces in Egypt have had much success, particularly, in opposing the emancipation of women and the secularization of the public school curriculum.

Even if he wanted to do so, it is doubtful whether Nasser is strong enough to separate church and state as Ataturk did in Turkey. Nasser in fact uses the Islamic religion as a tool to spread Egyptian influence throughout the Moslem world. He did, however, suppress the Moslem Brotherhood, a very reactionary political party in Egypt, after coming to power, but he did this primarily to consolidate his own power.

Egypt's great and basic social problems have continued to grow under Nasser's rule. In spite of his great personal prestige, he is still more the prisoner of the Egyptian city mobs and the fickle middle class than he is their master. The major criticism of Nasser is that, since 1954, he has largely neglected Egypt's great internal problems and has devoted his energies and the country's resources to foreign political maneuvers and intrigues.

It is understandable, though, that an ambitious and impatient young man such as Nasser, although a sincere nationalist, prefers to participate in foreign politics rather than trying to solve Egypt's complicated and discouraging internal problems. As many other political leaders, Nasser uses foreign issues and foreign enemies to unify his nation and to divert attention from home problems. He must be judged by what he does and not by what he says. He, like any politician, must appeal to public opinion, both in his own country and abroad, and must at times be secretive and evasive to maintain himself in power. Over the past five years, his actions have often belied his words.

Nasser's foreign policy has taken three main directions. He has sought to make Egypt a leader in the Islamic world, in the Afro-Asian world and in the Arab world. Nasser, in his writings and speeches, has shown signs of being a religious mystic. In his actions, though, he has used the Islamic religion to try to weld together a bloc of Moslem states from Indonesia to West Africa, under Egyptian leadership. Nasser made a widely publicized pilgrimage to Mecca to show his interest in Islam. He has also encouraged the long-standing efforts to convert Central Africa to Islam. He has provoked the Christian Ethiopians, who have felt that Egyptian missionaries were the forerunners of Egyptian political control.

Nasser has also tried to make Egypt a leader in the Afro-Asian

world. He played a leading role in the Bandung Conference of 1955, the first major meeting of the Afro-Asian nations who do not wish to identify themselves with either side in the cold war. With Nehru of India, particularly, Nasser tried to establish close relations.

In spite of Nasser's professed adherence to neutralism, he has closely tied Egypt's economy to the Soviet bloc, and has mortgaged the country's valuable cotton crop in exchange for Soviet armaments. In addition to this exchange agreement for armaments, Egypt spends a third of her annual budget for military purposes.

It was Nasser's financial irresponsibility and his large scale purchases of Soviet arms which caused the United States to withdraw its offer to help finance Egypt's billion dollar Aswam Dam project in July of 1956. This in turn provoked Nasser to violate his promise to the British and nationalize the Suez Canal, the last major Western owned facility in Egypt. Nasser argued that the canal profits would pay for the dam but the seizure seems to have been a last minute decision by him to gain favor with the Egyptian population. However, the last British troops had only left the canal the previous month, and therefore he could not have nationalized the canal much before this time.

In October, the British and French attempted to seize the canal from Egyptian control. They used the excuse that they wished to keep the canal open and that they wished to separate the Egyptian and Israeli military forces in the Sinai War which had just started. A sizeable allied military force attacked the canal region.

The Egyptians, defending their homes, fought back with considerable bravery. The city of Port Said on the Mediterranean, and the northern part of the canal were soon captured. The British and French were, however, quickly forced to stop their occupation of Suez and to withdrew by British Commonwealth, American and Soviet pressure. The canal, which had been blocked by the Egyptians during the fighting was in a matter of months, cleared under UN supervision.

It has been the Arab world that Nasser has been most concerned with. Although Egypt, under Farouk, had already been the leading Arab state in the middle east, Nasser has greatly increased Egypt's participation in Arab-world politics. The influence of Radio Cairo and of the Egyptian press have been greatly expanded by Nasser and they are today most important in forming public opinion in the Arab world. Nasser's regime also subsidises newspapers, political agents, and supporters in the other Arab countries.

Until the end of 1958 Nasser was clearly the symbol and spokesman of Arab nationalism in the middle east, and even, to a much lesser extent, in Arab North Africa. His major triumph occurred in February, 1958, when nationalists in politically unstable Syria forced the weak and corrupt government there to join Nasser in forming the United Arab Republic. The next month, backward and feudal Yemen federated itself with Nasser's U.A.R.

In July, 1958, Nasser supporters in Iraq rallied behind General Kassim and aided him in establishing his military dictatorship there. Opposition to Nasser, however, built up rapidly in the different Arab states. In 1956-57, Egyptian military attaches were condemned and expelled from Iraq, Lebanon, Tunisia and Saudi Arabia. In March, 1957, Nasser's supporters attempted to overthrow King Hussein in Jordan, but were unsuccessful.

In March, 1959, Nasser's supporters in Iraq tried to overthrow General Kassim and establish a pro-Nasser government. General Kassim, however, proved to be too strong. Interestingly, Kassim, like Nasser, is trying to follow the example of Ataturk. Kassim is personally honest and is also sincere in his wish to reform his homeland. In some ways Kassim has appeared to be more moderate and far sighted in his actions than has Nasser. Unfortunately, his immediate supporters are not as numerous nor as dedicated as those of Nasser; also, Iraq is much less stable politically than Egypt and is sharply divided along ethnic and religious lines.

It is always safer to be a historian after the event than a prophet before it; and it much easier to relate what Nasser has done than to prophecize his future actions. Certainly Nasser could yet become the Ataturk of modern Egypt and even perhaps of the Arab world—or he can prove to be simply another military dictator.

Nasser recently has indicated that he wishes to return to a policy of social and economic reforms, and has publically acknowledged that his regime has failed to start many of its promised social reforms. This may be a good sign; nevertheless his frequent aggressive speeches and the vast quantities of Soviet armaments that he continues to receive is ominous.

It seems very likely that he will continue to play the dangerous game of trying to balance the great powers off against each other to increase Egyptian influence in the middle east. It also seems likely that with his large military establishment he may yet again try to provoke hostilities with Israel or with other neighboring states in Africa or the middle east.

Chapter X

PORTRAIT IN OIL

Since the middle east has more than two thirds of the world's known oil reserves, its future is of prime importance to the United States and her allies.

In 1956 the middle east supplied more than three fourths of the oil needs of our friends in Europe and Asia and it is predicted that by 1965, more than 90% of the oil used by these countries will have to come from this region.

The United States itself imports only three and one half percent of its oil consumption from this region, but as American oil production is not keeping pace with our ever growing needs, undoubtedly we also will grow increasingly dependent on middle eastern oil. Although oil is the major Western interest, the middle east is also important to the West for religious reasons and as a transportation and communications center.

As the middle east is the home of two major Western religions, Judaism and Christianity, it is understandable that Western church groups are interested in this area. The Crusades in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which were motivated in part, by religious sentiments, were perhaps the earliest manifestation of this interest.

The major period of Western religious activity in the middle east began with the era of colonialism. Starting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the great colonial powers—Britain, France, and Czarist Russia—encouraged their national church groups to establish schools, missions, and hospitals abroad. These powers compelled the weak Ottoman and Persian Empires to give them special rights and concessions, in protecting and advancing their Christian communities. The British concerned themselves with Protestant activity, the French with Roman Catholic, and the Czarist Russians with Greek Orthodox. The Crimean war in 1856 was started ostensibly over disputes about access to holy sites between different Christian groups, protected by the great powers.

France, more than any other power, encouraged its national church and in most middle eastern countries, especially those on the borders

of the Mediterranean, French Catholic religious orders operate large numbers of missions, schools and hospitals. French influence has been especially strong in Lebanon and Syria. The Maronite Church which makes up nearly one third of Lebanon's population, has particularly close ties with France. One of the oldest of the Semitic churches, the Maronite Church, entered into union with the Roman Catholic church as a consequence of the Crusades, and French religious orders have worked closely among the Maronites for many hundreds of years.

The fact that Lebanon, alone among the Arab states, strongly supports Western policies is partially explained by these religious ties and influences. Until recently, most middle easterners who received an education other than a traditional Moslem one, were taught in schools run by Western religious groups. However, with the rise of nationalism, Western supported church groups are losing their influence in the middle east, with the exception of Lebanon.

From the time of the ancient Greeks, the middle east has been a major route for commerce between Europe, Africa and Asia. A non-religious cause for the Crusades was the desire of Western Europeans to gain control of the spice routes to India. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the major Western trading powers, Britain, France, Holland and Portugal had established trading stations in the middle east.

By 1800, India was Britain's most important overseas possession. The middle east came to be quite important to the British as a trade route to India and to other parts of Asia, and as a line of defense for India against Czarist Russia to the north.

Today the Persian Gulf is of great strategic importance because it is situated in the center of the world's richest oil fields. However, the British were greatly concerned with the Persian Gulf for several hundred years before oil was discovered. Because of their interests in India, the British wished to keep the Russians out of the Persian Gulf area.

From 1789 onward, Britain entered into a number of agreements with local tribal rulers in the Persian Gulf area. The British agreed to pay regular subsidies to these local rulers in return for what amounted to a British protectorate over their domains. Aden, strategically located at the entrance of the Red Sea, was occupied by the British in 1839 and made into a British colony. The Persian Gulf today is the main focus of British interest in the middle east and is still largely controlled by Britain, although American influence is growing rapidly.

The middle east is probably not too important commercially and strategically as a land bridge between Europe, Asia and Africa, but it does contain two of the most important waterways in the world—the Turkish Straits and the Suez Canal. The Turkish Straits connect the Black Sea with the Mediterranean. Probably since the time of the ancient Phoenicians the Turkish Straits have been an important water link connecting Southern Asia with the Mediterranean world.

For over 200 years, the Russians have been attempting to gain control of these straits which are Russia's only access to the Mediterranean. The ancient city of Constantinople, now Istanbul, Turkey's largest city, achieved its great commercial and political importance because of its strategic location on these straits. The Turkish government has pledged itself to maintain freedom of navigation for merchant ships in the straits at all times. Just prior to World War II, however, the Turks were allowed to fortify the straits and to prohibit the passage of warships of hostile nations. Underlying the Turkish fear of the Soviet Union is the knowledge that the Soviets, as the Czars before them, are determined to control this most strategic waterway.

The Suez Canal is probably the most important water way in the world. It links the Mediterranean with the Indian Ocean, and it greatly shortens the shipping distance from Europe to Southern Asia. The distance from London to the Persian Gulf is over 11 thousand miles by way of Africa, but only six thousand miles through the Suez Canal. The Suez canal was built by French interests in the 1860's, but soon came under British political control. Even before the development of the oil industry in the Persian Gulf region, the Suez Canal was a valuable trade route and its significance has increased because a large part of middle eastern oil is shipped by tanker through it.

During the interwar years Britain was the dominant Western power in the middle east. Since World War II, the British have been forced to contract their overseas commitments greatly. In Iraq, Egypt, Israel and Jordan, local nationalism has driven out most of the former British influence. In Saudi Arabia and Iran, America has replaced Britain as the guiding power. Recently, however, Jordan again placed herself under British protection because of Nasser's threats.

Basically, British influence in the middle east today is confined to the Persian Gulf area. A number of small Persian Gulf Sheikdoms, including Kuwait, Bahrein, and Qatar, have remained British protectorates. The most important of these is Kuwait, where the British

established themselves in 1898 to prevent the expanding German empire from gaining a foothold in the Persian Gulf. The British were not greatly disturbed when it was discovered that their small, insignificant sheikdom of Kuwait possessed almost a quarter of the world's known oil reserves.

Kuwait has now replaced India as the jewel in the crown of the British Empire, and is now the largest single foreign source of investment capital for the British stock market. The British still have sizeable oil interests, worth many hundreds of millions of dollars in Iraq and Iran, as well as in Kuwait. It seems, though, that while the British might be willing to peacefully surrender their oil interests in Iraq and Iran, they will go all out—even to the use of force—to maintain their position in Kuwait.

The United States did not become a major force in the middle east until World War II. In the years immediately after the war the United States replaced Britain as the main defender of Western interests in many parts of the world, including the middle east. In 1947 the United States took over from the British a program of military and economic aid to Turkey and Greece, which were threatened by the Soviet Union.

This policy known as the Truman Doctrine was the beginning of our world wide policy of containment—holding the Soviet Union within its present boundaries. The United States does not want the oil-rich and strategic middle east to come under the control of the Soviet Union. We, as the leaders of the anti-Soviet world, wish to insure that our friends and allies in Europe and Asia will continue to receive oil for their present and future needs. Without oil, the plans we support for industrial expansion in these countries cannot succeed.

Less altruistic, but quite important, are the extensive American oil interests in the middle east which have sky rocketed in value and production since World War II. Our interests, undoubtedly worth billions of dollars, have probably exceeded Great Britain's.

Four countries—Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia—produce 98% of middle eastern oil. Except for the major oil fields of Iraq, located at Kirkuk, all the oil fields of these four countries are located near the shores of the Persian Gulf. A quarter of the oil taken from the ground is refined locally; all the countries of the middle east, except Jordan and Syria, have refineries. The rest of the oil production is pumped through pipelines and shipped by tanker to refineries outside the middle east.

Pipelines have been built across the deserts to bring the crude oil

to Mediterranean ports for shipment to Europe and America. Before World War Two, pipelines were laid connecting the Kirkuk oil fields of Iraq with the ports of Haifa in Israel and Tripoli in Lebanon. Since the war, additional pipelines have been built from the Kirkuk fields to ports in Lebanon and Syria. The longest pipeline in the middle east—one thousand miles long—known as "tapeline" which was completed in 1950, runs from Dhaharan in Arabia to the port of Sidon in Lebanon.

Iraq suffered a great loss of revenue on two occasions when the pipelines which carry most of her oil production were shut off. During the Arab-Israeli war in 1948 the Iraqi government, on its own initiative, stopped the flow of oil to the Israeli port of Haifa. Other pipelines were built from Iraq to Lebanon and Syria which cross Syrian territory but not Israel. In 1956 the Syrians, to weaken the British during the Sinai War, interfered with the Iraqi pipelines on its territory.

Both Syria and Lebanon receive regular royalty payments for the pipelines which cross their territory. There are complicated formulas for paying the oil producing countries. Basically the profits from the sale of the oil before foreign taxes are deducted are split on a 50-50 basis between the oil companies and the oil producing nations.

What makes middle east oil so attractive is not only its great quantity, but the ease and relative low cost of extracting it from the ground. One middle eastern well can produce fifty times as much oil per day as an average American oil well. The United States has almost two million oil wells, in operation as compared to only a few thousand wells in the middle east, yet American oil production is just double that of the middle east.

Iran today has an estimated eight percent of the world's known oil reserves and produces about five percent of the world's oil. Iran was the first middle eastern country to be an important producer of oil. Oil was discovered in 1908 by British interests and in 1912 oil began to be shipped in commercial quantities from the port of Abadan. The Abadan refinery, which came to be the largest in the world, was constructed at this time.

The British in 1913 decided to convert their war fleet from coal to oil and this caused a big spurt in Iranian oil production. The British government bought controlling interests in the Anglo Iranian Oil Company, now known as British Petroleum Company, Ltd. In the interwar years, Iran was the major oil producer in the middle east. For a long time, though, the British and Iranian governments had disagreed over the distribution of oil profits.

In March, 1951, nationalist sentiment in Iran caused the Iranian government, led by Mossadegh, to nationalize British oil interests. The Iranians, however, did not have the technical or administrative cadres to successfully operate the oil industry. Moreover, the international oil interests largely boycotted Iranian oil so that Iranian oil production and revenue dropped to almost nothing.

In 1954 anti-Mossadegh forces, led by the Shah of Iran, consolidated themselves in power and concluded a new oil agreement. A new company, Iranian Oil Participants, Ltd., took over the former concession of British Petroleum. A group of seven American oil companies was given a 40% interest in the new concern: Royal Dutch Shell a 14% interest; French Petroleum a 6% interest, and British Petroleum a 40% interest.

An interesting sidelight of middle east oil productivity was noticed in 1951-1954 when Iranian oil was withdrawn from the world market. The neighboring Persian Gulf producers very quickly raised their production and absorbed Iran's former share of the world market. One reason Britain agreed to share her Iranian oil concession was that the other major oil interests had to be induced to give back a portion of the world market to Iranian oil. By 1956 Iran was again a major oil producer. Today Iran's annual oil revenue is about 250 million dollars.

The second country to develop major oil production in the middle east was Iraq. Iraq produces about 5% of the world's oil and has about 10% of the world's known oil reserves. There are two major oil producing areas in Iraq—the Kirkuk region in the Northeastern part of the country, and in Southern Iraq, near the Persian Gulf. The Kirkuk fields are the oldest and most productive, although oil output in the south is rising rapidly. Two thirds of Iraq's oil is pumped through pipes to the Mediterranean. One third is exported from the port of Basra on the Persian Gulf by tankers.

The great powers, especially Germany and Britain, were interested in Iraqi oil long before World War I, when Iraq was part of the Turkish Empire. An Armenian businessman, C. S. Gulbenkian, succeeded in obtaining an oil concession from the Turks prior to the war. The Turkish Petroleum Company was formed in which Britain obtained a 75% interest and Kaiser Germany, a 25% interest.

After World War I, Iraq was made a British mandate, but Britain's ally, France, was given the German share of the concession. The United States Government, however, put pressure on the British, and American and Dutch oil interests were admitted as equal partners

with the British and French in the concession, which became known as the Iraq Petroleum Company. British Petroleum, Royal Dutch Shell, French Petroleum, and Standard Oil of New York and New Jersey together, own an equal share of the Iraq Petroleum Company. A five percent interest was assigned to Gulbenkian.

Oil is the principal source of Iraq's wealth. Iraq today has an annual oil revenue of 235 million dollars, which supplies the funds for the large scale development programs, started in 1950, under British guidance. Although Britain gave up her mandate in Iraq in 1933, British influence remained strong until Kassim's revolution in July 1958. Although Kassim has greatly reduced Britain's connections with Iraq, he scrupulously avoided interfering with the oil concessions.

The richest and the smallest of the middle eastern oil producers is Kuwait. Kuwait has 23% of the world's known oil reserves and produces almost 9% of the world's oil. Even by middle eastern standards, Kuwait oil is unsually inexpensive to extract. The underground pressure is so high that no pumping is necessary to bring the oil to the surface, and the oil fields are conveniently located near port facilities. Kuwait's tremendous output comes from only 297 oil wells.

In 1934, the American Gulf Oil Corporation and the British Petroleum Company formed the Kuwait Oil Company on a 50-50 ownership basis. In 1938, the most prolific single oil field in the world was discovered in Kuwait. It wasn't until after the war, in 1949, that Kuwait oil came onto the world market in significant quantities.

When Iran's oil was nationalized in 1951, the British quickly increased Kuwait's oil production, and distribution facilities. The second largest oil refinery in the middle east was built in Kuwait. Today Kuwait receives over 400 million dollars a year in oil revenue and this sum should double in ten years. Part of this revenue is used for development in the fields of health, education, housing and public works. Kuwait has a population of only 150,000, in an area the size of Rhode Island. It seems likely they will have more than enough money to carry out their development schemes.

Kuwait's ruler, Sheik Sabah, has dutifully accepted British advice and protection. Kuwait would have been absorbed by Saudi Arabia long ago had it not been for the British. Nasser of Egypt has indicated that he also wants Kuwait's oil revenues. Among the small educated Arab population of Kuwait, there is nationalist sentiment and resentment against the benevolent but autocratic rule of Sheik Sabah. Most of Kuwait's population are nomads and are quite happy with the present order of things.

It is in Saudi Arabia only that American oil interests have complete control among the four oil producing countries of the middle east. Saudi Arabia has almost 20% of the world's known oil resources, and produces about six percent of the world's oil. As in Kuwait, oil is the major source of income and the only important industry.

The existence of large oil deposits in Saudi Arabia had been suspected for many years. In 1933, oil was discovered on the British protected Bahrein Island in the Persian Gulf. Oil companies, representing many countries, including Britain, Japan, Nazi Germany, Italy and the United States sought concessions from Ibn Saud, the absolute ruler of this nomadic nation. In 1939 Ibn Saud finally concluded an agreement with what became Aramco—The Arabian American Oil Company, which is owned by Standard Oil and the Texas Company. This shrewd old ruler probably believed that the United States would be less colonialistic than any of the other nations desiring oil concessions from him.

As with Kuwait, Saudi Arabian oil production did not become significant until after World War II. Today Saudi Arabia receives approximately 300 million dollars a year in oil revenue. The oil revenues in Saudi Arabia, to a greater extent than in Kuwait, go directly to the personal use of the ruler. Because Saudi Araba is theoretically independent the American government does not guide the Saudis in financial matters, as the British do in Kuwait. Aramco, however, does carry on small scale health, education and public works projects.

There can be no question of the importance of middle eastern oil to the countries of the Western world. It should also be remembered, however, that the western markets are also quite important to the middle east oil producers. While leaders in countries like Egypt and Syria which have no oil talk freely of cutting off or nationalizing Western oil interests, leaders such as Kassim of Iraq, in oil producing states, seem willing to stay on good terms with the oil companies.

At the present time, there is a surplus of oil on the world market. The countries of Western Europe and the United States consume most of the world's oil. The Soviet bloc has a surplus of oil and most of the neutralist countries of Asia and Africa have little need for oil as they are not yet industrialized and have few motor vehicles. The West is therefore the important immediate market for the middle east's oil output. The middle eastern oil producers are also not united in their attitudes towards the West. Because of the great reserves of oil in Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Arabia, any one of these four states

could very quickly increase its production to the point of suppling the present world demand for middle eastern oil.

The power of Nasser to harm the West by stopping the flow of oil to Europe has also been exaggerated by many commentators. It is true that Nasser can close the Suez Canal to tankers and interefere with the pipelines that cross Syria. Since the Sinai War of 1956 when Egypt and Syria did shut off the flow of oil to Europe, the oil companies and the European states have taken steps to prevent a future oil shortage.

Western Europeans have stock-piled up to six months supply of oil for emergencies. A sizeable number of large oil tankers have been built capable of economically going around Africa rather than thru the Suez Canal to Europe. The British and French are also investigating the use of inexpensive barges to carry oil from the Persian Gulf around Africa to Europe. Construction of large pipelines thru pro-Western Turkey and Israel are also being planned by Western oil interests.

The proposed Turkish pipeline would originate on the Persian Gulf and cross Iraq and Turkey to the Black Sea. The Israelis already have a small pipeline which goes from the Port of Elath on the Gulf of Aqaba to the Mediterranean, and they have contracted for a larger pipeline to carry oil for European as well as local needs.

Britain and the United States in many parts of the world, including the middle east, are in the awkward position of supporting regimes which are unpopular. We find ourselves propping up such outdated rulers as Saud and Sheik Sabah who are symbols of backwardness to growing numbers of middle eastern nationalists. Our support of such regimes makes us easy targets for charges of colonialism and imperialism.

Also, our proper concern to prevent Soviet penetration has made us suspicious of those advocating social reform. Perhaps the foreign policy that President Eisenhower's brother recommended that we adopt towards Latin America of being cool but correct towards dictatorships and warm and friendly towards democracies might also be appropriate for our middle east policy. Admittedly though, it may be difficult to be cool towards Saud and Sheik Sabah with their vast oil resources. Although their regimes may last for some years, it is quite clear that the forces of nationalism will inevitably sweep away such feudal and tribal rulers in the middle east and elsewhere.

Chapter XI

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE COLD WAR

For thousands of years the middle east has been caught between rival power blocs striving to control the world. The cold war now raging between the Soviet Union and the West is a continuation of these ancient struggles. To understand present day Soviet aims in the middle east one must recognize that they are in great part guided by the principles established by the Russian Czars.

Had it not been for British resistance, the mid east as we know it today would have become part of the expanding Czarist Russian Empire by the year 1800. Even so, the Czars, in pressing Southward, incorporated large parts of the Turkish and Persian-speaking worlds into their Empire. The Soviet interest was shown long before the beginning of the cold war. In the agreements between Hitler and Stalin, embodied in the German-Soviet Pact of August, 1939, the Nazis agreed to recognize the Soviet Union as the dominant power in the middle east.

At the present time, the emphasis in the cold war has largely shifted from Europe to the non-Western world: the countries of Asia and Africa. It is not surprising that the middle east is a major battleground in the cold war, when on considers its proximity to the Soviet Union, its political instability and the bitter anti-Western attitudes which exist there. In non-Western countries, such as Indonesia, India, the Arab states and Ghana, the Soviets are seeking to displace the West and gain political control by non-military means.

The United States and her allies are equally determined that these non-Western nations, with their vast populations, and mineral wealth, shall not be absorbed into the Soviet bloc. Unless a hot war errupts, this struggle for the non-Western world will surely continue throughout our lifetimes. Both sides recognize this and are devoting more and more thought and effort to this struggle.

For a long time the Soviet Union has put great stress on training specialists in the languages, the cultures, and even the religions of the countries and peoples it wishes to dominate. Even before the time of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 the Communists concerned

themselves with the problems of different nationalities and emphasized their right to political and cultural freedom. The Bolsheviks had a great appeal among many members of oppressed nationality groups in Europe, because of their professed sympathy and encouragement of the aspirations and hopes of these people.

If one would understand the success of the Bolsheviks in capturing Russia, it is necessary to appreciate the great support which the non-Russian nationalities, living in Russia, gave them. There was a widespread belief in Europe at that time, as there is in much of the non-Western world today, that the Soviet regime favors equality among all nationality groups. The Soviet Government has in fact persecuted many nationalities within its territory but it has been quite successful in keeping alive the idea that it is the friend and supporter of oppressed nationality groups.

Although Soviet agents and supporters in these non-Western countries seek to establish Soviet control, because they are familiar with the national languages and cultures, their objectives seem to be much the same as those of the local nationalists. During the Communist take-over of China, the Chinese Red armies marched into villages and towns singing traditional Chinese folksongs, and in general, showed great respect for Chinese culture.

The Soviet Union has also succeeded in gaining great popularity in the colored nations of the world, where there is a common hostility towards the white Western world. By skillful propaganda, the Soviet Union has convinced many colored peoples that it is anti-imperialist and at one with the colored world. The Suez War of 1956 was an excellent example of the Soviet's identification with the cause of the colored peoples.

After the British and French launched their assault to seize the Suez Canal from Egypt, the Soviet Union came out strongly in support of Nasser and the Egyptian position. The Soviet government encouraged the Egyptian people to resist the invaders. The Soviet and their supporters throughout Asia and Africa staged protest rallies against the British and French.

The colored members of the British Commonwealth, especially India and Pakistan, were very angry and it appeared that the British Commonwealth might fall apart. The Soviet Union actively supported the Indian and Pakistani governments in their demands that the attack on this small Afro-Asian nation be ended. The Soviets strengthened their position in the non-Western world as a result of their support of Egypt.

The Communist movement, with its militant, highly organized membership, is a new element which has aided the Soviet Union in extending its power and influence. There is much confusion as to what Communism is. More than anything else, it is the evangelical movement which gives complete support to the Soviet Union's position in international affairs and favors the advancement of Soviet interests and objectives.

The Communist parties in all mid-eastern countries, whether legal or underground, are quite small, but their size belies their effective strength. Egypt and Syria each have about 10,000 Communist members; Iraq, more than 5,000 and Jordan about 3,000. Communists are an important force in the middle east, because, except for Turkey and Israel, all middle eastern governments are weak, and can easily be overthrown by a small, but well-organized cadre of zealous men and women.

Although Communists are politically important in the Arab states and Iran, more significant is the tendency of local nationalists to express their anti-Western attitudes by adopting the Communist party line. None of the Arab states has ever known Soviet domination, but all have experienced Western control. Since they have had no unpleasant experiences with the Soviet Union, and since the Soviet Union apparently favors their national aspirations, the Arab states side more often with the Soviet Union than with the West in cold war issues.

We in the United States cannot understand why people in these countries and in more advanced nations, such as France and Italy, do not recognize the Soviet intention to bring them under its totalitarian dictatorship. In France and Italy about a quarter of the populations vote Communist. The threat of the Soviet Union to their national interests is not obvious. The Soviet Union and its local agents, the Communist parties, often become the symbol of opposition to the existing social and political order.

Although nations which have had unpleasant experience with the Soviet Union, such as Turkey, Iran and Israel, may be similarly divided few of their nationalists will support Communism or the Soviet Union. Nationalists in Turkey and Iran know that for hundreds of years Russians have been pressing down on their homelands and Israeli nationalists know that the Soviet Union is strongly opposed to Zionism.

It was not until after the death of Stalin that the Soviet Union made a major effort to become a power in the middle east. The new rulers of the Soviet Union in many ways seem to be more expansionist than

was Stalin. This more aggressive attitude probably reflects Russia's great scientific and industrial progress, and also her equality with the West in nuclear weapons.

Even under Stalin, though, the Soviet regime tried to be an influence in the middle east. Soviet leaders had championed the local nationalist movements in the Arab States particularly, in great part for the purpose of driving the British out of the region. In 1947 and 1948 the Soviet government voted with the United States in the United Nations in favor of partitioning the British mandate of Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish state.

One of the first post-war indications of Soviet aggressiveness occurred in the middle east in 1946. During the war, Iran was the major Allied supply route to Russia for transporting military equipment, especially American lend-lease aid, to the hard-pressed Soviet Army. The British and Soviet forces had occupied Iran shortly after the outbreak of the war. During the war, however, contrary to their promises to the Allies, the Soviets were making efforts to stay in Iran and particularly, to absorb the Northwestern Iranian province of Azerbaijan into the U.S.S.R.

In February, 1946, backed up by the United States, the Iranian government brought the Azerbaijanian issue before the United Nations. The statesmen of the West in discussing the Azerbaijanian issue began to realize that the cold war was soon to begin. The issue dragged on for many months.

Meanwhile, though, in Iran, the Soviets were encouraging their local Communist party, known as the Tudeh, to stage anti-government and anti-American riots and demonstrations. They developed a huge propaganda machine, which began to disseminate anti-American propaganda. Under American pressure, the Soviets finally withdrew from Azerbaijan, but the Iranians have continued to be fearful of the Soviet Union.

The Soviets have continued to encourage the Tudeh party, especially in promoting dissention among the minority nationalities. In 1951 the Tudeh party was active in supporting the nationalization of the British oil interest. Co-operating with the extreme nationalists, they sponsored monster rallies and demonstrations against the West. Because of their fear of the Soviet Union, most Iranian nationalists have had little to do with the Tudeh party. Although the Iranian government is weak and could easily be overthrown, the Tudeh party is much less a danger in Iran than are the Communist parties in the Arab states.

It is Turkey, however, which today, as under the Czars, is the major object of Soviet pressure and ambitions. In June, 1945, the victorious Soviet government tried to compel the Turks to grant them military bases in the Turkish Straits and to return to the Soviet Union the two Northeastern Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan, which the Soviets had given to Turkey after World War I.

Anti-Turkish propaganda and other Soviet pressure increased through 1946, and by 1947, the Turks, with some justification, feared an imminent Soviet attack. The Turks entered into a close alliance with the United States and became the major Western ally in the middle east. The Soviets now are antagonistic to Turkey, not only because Turkey refuses to give them control of the strategic outlet to the Mediterranean, but also because they feel Turkey is a military threat to them.

In 1955 the Soviet bloc launched a large-scale economic and military aid program to the middle east. To date, Egypt, Syria, Yemen and Iraq have been recipients of this aid, which is part of a broader Soviet program of assistance to undeveloped nations that it wants to influence and capture.

The Soviet Union today allocates over a billion dollars a year for credits and loans to a number of non-Western nations, primarily Afghanistan, India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Most of this aid is offered in the form of low-interest loans, payable over a twelve year period or longer. Repayment may be made in part in the products of the undeveloped country. These agreements tie these countries to the Soviet bloc; only Soviet-bloc goods and services may be used.

This includes technical assistance, equipment for new industry and scholarships in the Soviet bloc. There are more than a thousand Soviet technicians serving as instructors in Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Iraq.

The Soviets have also sold on credit at bargain prices tremendous amounts of military equipment to Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Because modern war equipment becomes obsolete so fast, the Soviet government, has large quantities of outdated jet planes, tanks and other weapons which can be sold or even given away without sacrifice. It is this Soviet equipment which has caused the arms race in the middle east today.

The United States for more than ten years, has been conducting programs of economic aid in some 60 countries, primarily to help them resist Soviet control. The Marshall Plan of economic aid to Europe in 1947, inauguarated these programs. Throughout the undeveloped

regions of the world, our government has been spending millions of dollars yearly to help non-Communist nations. Our economic aid has included assistance for relief, reconstruction, economic development and technical training.

We have also given, or sold at very low cost, thousands of tons of surplus agricultural products. Our government has appropriated close to a billion dollars in the past ten years for economic aid to the middle east alone. The United States has also actively supported, both financially and politically, United Nations technical aid and relief programs in this region.

American military aid to the middle east has generally been tied up with our regional defense pacts—N.A.T.O. and the Middle East Treaty Organization, formerly known as the Bagdad pact.

Turkey has received most of the American military aid to the middle east. It is the cornerstone of both of the treaty organizations which are our middle eastern barriers to Soviet expansion. N.A.T.O. is by far the stronger of the two.

The United States has poured many hundreds of millions of dollars worth of military aid into Turkey, as well as large amounts for economic and technical aid. Hundreds of U.S. army officers, civilian technicians and specialists have been serving in Turkey since 1949.

With our help, the Turkish Army has been made into one of the most formidable elements in the Western military camp. Turkish troops served with distinction with our forces in Korea. Many key N.A.T.O. installations: radar stations, airfields, rocket launching sites and naval bases, are located in Turkey. American aid has greatly contributed to Turkey's economic development and has helped train many thousands of Turks in technical and mechanical skills.

In January 1957, President Eisenhower committed the United States to resist Soviet expansion in the middle east. The Eisenhower Doctrine came about as a consequence of the Suez War of November, 1956. Our two major European allies, France and Britain, provoked by Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal of the previous July, intervened in the Egyptian-Israeli conflict. Coming from bases in Cyprus and Malta, the British and French launched a major military campaign to take over the canal.

The United States opposed and condemned this British and French invasion and exerted great diplomatic pressure on London and Paris. In the United Nations, we supported a Canadian proposal that a U.N. police force be set up to help preserve peace in the middle east. With our aid, U.N. detachments were brought to the Suez region with

unprecedented speed. The United States also took the leadership in clearing the canal, which the Egyptians had blocked. With our support, a permanent United Nations police force has been stationed along the Egyptian-Israeli border and at the entrance of the Gulf of Aqaba to prevent possible military clashes.

President Eisenhower in a message to Congress laid forth the Eisenhower doctrine. In it, he outlined America's fears of Soviet penetration into the middle east. It pledged that the United States would use force to defend friendly mid-eastern states against either direct Soviet attack or aggression from Soviet supporters within the region itself, if the threatened states requested help.

Congress approved this Eisenhower Doctrine and authorized the President to use some two hundred million dollars as he deemed necessary for military and economic aid. Although the Eisenhower Doctrine is somewhat vague in defining who and what is Communist, it nevertheless constitutes an important cold war commitment. Perhaps the most important function it has served has been alerting the American people to their government's concern over the future of the middle east.

In July, 1958, the Eisenhower Doctrine was put to its first major test. Communists at that time, had been prominent in aiding Kassim's successful revolt against the pro-Western Iraqi government. After Kassim's victory, it appeared that the entire Arab middle east was falling under the domination of pro-Communist forces, led or inspired by Nasser of Egypt. At the request of the Lebanese government, the United States sent a sizeable military force to Lebanon to prevent a pro-Communist take over there. The British, with our support also, sent troops to Jordan to prop up the regime in that country.

Chapter XII

PEOPLES AND PROPHECY

The future of the 80 million inhabitants of the middle east is being influenced by great political and economic changes which are revolutionizing their ways of life. The peoples of Europe and America took several hundred years to develop the highly industrialized, efficient societies which have become their source of strength and wealth. Middle eastern people are being pressed to make these same changes in one generation or less. Outwardly, many are rapidly adopting Western ways—parliamentary government, law systems, modern clothing—but it is not easy for them to break the ties of habit, custom and of their traditionalist religions.

An increasing number of middle eastern people are losing their traditional roots but have not yet replaced them with Western values. The cities and towns are filled with people whose lives show the influence of both the Orient and the West. Most of the current upheaval which has been sweeping the region has been caused by these people who have a foot in both the Eastern and the Western worlds, but do not fully belong to either. Three major problems confront the peoples of the middle east at the present time:

The first problem is political. Most mid-easterners still have a feudal political outlook; nationalism, the opponent of feudalism, demands supreme loyalty to the state. The spirit of nationalism is making rapid strides, and it will inevitably be the dominant political force in the mideast as it is already in the Western world. Nationalism could develop in several ways. It could take the path of moderation, and concern itself with the building of enduring national states and encouraging peaceful relationships with other peoples, or it could be of an aggressive nature wasting the energies and wealth of the region on wars and imperialistic ventures.

The second problem is economic. In few parts of the world is the contrast of wealth and poverty as extreme as it is in the middle east. The present antiquated distribution of wealth, especially that of land ownership, cannot survive the growth of literacy and nationalism. The question is then, how the redistribution will be carried out—by peace-

ful means such as taxation; or by the use of force, that is, revolution. The extent of future class conflicts will be largely determined by the way in which present economic grievances are resolved.

The third problem is religious. Will the historic mid-east churches be able to adapt themselves to new industrial and more materialistic societies without creating a sharp and bitter division between pro-religious and anti-religious forces? Because religion in the mid-east is as much a way of life as a form of worship, it will be difficult for the religious leaders to accept the changing modes of life.

Of the middle eastern states, Turkey and Israel must be regarded as being basically Western. Both face serious problems of inflation, of church-state relations, and of inefficiency in industry and agriculture. Their problems are quite comparable, though, to those of such states as Italy or Austria. Geographically and culturally, Turkey and Israel are integral parts of the middle east; in terms of economic development, social organization and their more moderate nationalisms, they should be identified with Southern or Central Europe. Barring a nuclear holocaust, the Turks and the Israelis, with the peoples of the Western world, can reasonably look forward to continued political stability and an increasing standard of living.

The immediate future of the Arab states and Iran, as of much of Asia and Africa, does not appear bright. Many signs indicate that the coming years will see considerable social and political unrest. The growing literate and semi-literate populations of these countries, concentrated in the cities, will be increasingly vulnerable to the appeals of extreme nationalism and of Soviet propaganda.

Despite many problems, the Arab states and Iran have great natural resources. Arabs and Iranians are peoples with a vibrant and inspiring past. It should be remembered that only in this generation have they started to emerge from centuries of stagnation and foreign domination. They are today groping for new national cultures which will combine their classical heritage with Western institutions. We of the West must not be so arrogant as to measure their success by how closely they imitate our ways. We can only wish them well in freely finding, by themselves, their own distinctive forms of national life.

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